

PART II

Religious Developments

JAINISM IN ORISSA

MARKED by a unique place in the annals of the subcontinent, right from antiquity Orissa is fortunate to have a distinct history of its own. The rich exuberance of the alluvial soil of the coastal region created by multiple streams and rivers with a long sea-base, washed by the swirling waters of the Bay of Bengal as well as a vast hinterland and highlands with all the beauties and bounties of nature constituted Orissa in the hoary past. It was then stretched from the Ganges to the Godavari and from the Amarkantak hills to the Bay of Bengal.¹ Embroidered with glorious achievements of her mighty kings and people, Orissa in the remote past, breathed an air of religious magnificence. And it was Jainism which appeared to have played a prominent role through ages in the religious life of the people of Orissa.

Owing to the paucity of positive information, the exact date of the origin of Jainism in Orissa cannot be determined. However, it can be traced back to a period much earlier than that of the rise of Buddhism, and Jainism like Buddhism had a long career in Orissa. Traditional accounts of the Jaina sacred literature and epigraphic evidences suggest that possibly the Jaina faith obtained a footing in Orissa from the earliest times of its appearance in India.

Rishabhadeva or Rishabha known in the traditional accounts of the Jainas² as the founder of Jainism and the Adinatha or the first Jain Tirthankara is believed to have been associated with the cultural history of ancient Orissa. In the lines 11-12 of the famous Hatigumpha Inscription there is a reference³ to the fact that the image of Kalinga Jina was carried away from Kalinga by a Nanda king. The image referred to in the inscription has been identified by R. D. Banerjee as that of Sitalnath, the tenth Tirthankara⁴. But analysing the nomenclature there is also reason to identify this image with that of the first Jina, Rishabha. We come across instances where the image of Rishabhadeva had been named after the place of his worship. For example, the image of Rishabhadeva at Satrunjaya is called Satrunjaya Jina and that of Abu is called the Abudajina and so on. Similarly

the image of Rishabhadeva of Kalinga might have been designated as Kalinga Jina. Of course here he was named not after a particular place but after the entire kingdom. Thereby it carries with it a name of national significance. It is perhaps the solitary example to name the image of a Tirthankara after a kingdom. However, this fact prompts us to think that Rishabhadeva, the first Jina, was the well-reputed and established deity of Kalinga long before the 6th century B.C., when Mahavira, the last Tirthankara of the Jaina tradition appeared in the religious firmament of India. It was possibly for the outstanding significance of the deity that Nandaraja later on took away this image as war trophy to pronounce his victory over Kalinga. But Rishabhadeva was not known to have preached Jainism in Orissa.

It was Parsvanath, to whom Jaina tradition gives the twenty-third place in the hierarchy of Jina Tirthankaras is believed to have visited Orissa and preached Jainism in this region. It is evident from numerous sculptural representations in the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar where images of Parsvanath are found to have been carved magnificently. Specially the scenic pictures of Ranigumpha faithfully depict the life and activities of this honoured saint. This fact goes a long way in proving that he was the most venerable and reputed of the Tirthankaras in ancient Orissa. If on the basis of the Jaina tradition, this great saint emerged two hundred and fifty years before Mahavira, *i.e.*, in 777 B.C., then as early as the 8th century B.C. Orissa was a reputed seat of Jainism with Parsvanath playing a distinguished role in the religious life of the people.

Further more there are a few references in the Jaina texts which make us believe that there ruled in ancient Orissa, a king named Karandu or Karakandu who embraced Jainism and in all probability he was the disciple of Parsvanath. It is known from a legend that once the king of Champa, Dadhibhabana, while moving in the Jungles with his pregnant queen found himself separated from her. She was then given shelter by a Jaina nun. Subsequently the queen gave birth to a son who was named Karakandu and he was brought up by a 'Chandala' couple. Later on the king got back his son Karakandu and he was made the king of Kalinga. In Jaina texts, the reference made to a Chandala king in all probability was this Karakandu. About this Jaina king of Kalinga, a few other references are also found in Jaina canonical texts. One such reference says that once a royal disciple of Parsvanath, Karakandu by name, the king of Champa visited the Terapura caves and built Jaina shrines in which he installed the old as well as newly constructed images of Jinendras.⁵ From another reference given in Abhidhana Rajendra⁶

it is known that in Kalinga, there ruled a king called Karakandu and his wife was Padmavati who happened to be the daughter of Maharaja Chetaka. A reference to it has also been made in the dictionary of Pali proper names.⁷ Therein it is stated that one day, Karandu (Karakandu), the king of Dantapura of Kalinga was eating mangoes in his own park from a tree laden with fruits and when his followers started eating the fruits from the same tree, it appeared barren. Having seen the sight of a tree smiling with fruits, becoming barren in a moment Karakandu after returning home began to think on and on and rightly realised that the same tree would no more face any such ravages. Comparing the fruits with material prosperities which are transitory he thought them to be the causes of all sorrows and unhappiness. Kumbhakara Jataka⁸ states that the transitoriness of the world impressed him so much that he became a *pacceka* Buddha and went to Nandamula Pabbhar with three other kings. Uttaradhyayana Sutra also mentions that there was a Jaina monarch of Orissa named Karakandu, who was a disciple of Parsvanath⁹. It is of course difficult to find out the exact date of his rule in Orissa. But if Karakandu is to be accepted as the disciple of Parsvanath, he may plausibly be placed in the 8th century B. C.

In the 6th century B.C. Mahavira is believed to have preached his gospel in Orissa. It is known that Chetaka, the Kshetriya king of Kalinga had invited Mahavira with all cordiality to preach his doctrine in his kingdom. This fact has been corroborated by important Jaina canonical works. Jaina Harivamsa Purana records that Mahavira preached his sermons in Kalinga and Haribhadriya Vritti states that he went there because the Kalingan king was a friend of his father.¹⁰ Further Avasyakasutra tells that Mahavira Swami during his religious tours visited Toshali, the capital of Kalinga. According to Vyavahara Bhasya, Toshali was the seat of a Jaina image which was guarded by the king Toshalika. Further Dr. Jayaswal referring to line 14 of Hatigumpha Inscription writes that Mahavira visited Kalinga and preached Jainism from Kumari Parvata, identified with Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar. A reference to this has also been made by K. P. Jain¹¹. Uttaradhyayana Sutra further refers to Kalinga as a centre of Jainism and Pithunda, a far-famed port, during the days of Mahavira was an important seat of Jaina culture¹². Sylvan Levi identifies Pithunda of the Jaina work with the Pithunda of Hatigumpha Inscription. Thus keeping in view all these references, it can be said with certainty that Mahavira visited Kalinga in the 6th century B.C. and he paid his visit at a time when Jainism was already flourishing under the patronage of the Kshatriya monarch. Since then Jainism was found to have figured as a major religion of Orissa up to the 1st century B. C.

In the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., Orissa was a stronghold of Jainism when Nanda dynasty was in power. This fact is highlighted by the Hatigumpha Inscription of the king Kharavela¹³. It records that in the 12th year of his reign, Kharavela vanquished the Magadhan king and brought back the sacred image of Kalinga Jina that had been carried away from Kalinga long ago by the Magadhan king¹⁴ (*Nandarājanitam Ca Kalingajinam sanniveśya*). This image of Kalinga Jina was that of a Jaina Tirthankara. While K. P. Jayaswal has identified it with Lord Sitalnath, the tenth Tirthankara, Dr. N. K. Sahu has equated him with Rishabhanath, the first Tirthankara. But Dr. K. C. Panigrahi opines that the Hatigumpha Inscription has referred to the seat or throne of Jina (Jinasana) and not the image of Jaina Tirthankara. In any case, the Nanda ruler in question has been identified by some scholars with Mahapadmananda. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi has rightly stated¹⁵ that after the conclusion of the Orissan Invasion, the Nanda ruler took away the honoured seat of Jina as war trophy for its great significance in the religious life of the Kalingans. Possibly it was for this reason that later on this incident finds a special mention in the Hatigumpha Inscription. However this fact amply suggests two things. First, the practice of image worship was in vogue among the Jainas in Orissa even before the days of the Nandas, *i.e.*, in or before the 4th century B. C. Secondly Jainism was the state religion of Orissa in the 5th and the 4th centuries B. C.

The political history of Orissa from the days of the Nandas till the invasion of Ashoka is shrouded in mystery. It is not yet known as to when Kalinga regained her independence and what was the necessity again for another Magadhan king, Ashoka to invade Orissa. In 261 B.C. However, with firm attachment to their religious traditions, the religious life of the people of Orissa had never been affected by the political changes at any time of her ancient history. In view of this finding it can be said that Jainism continued as the major religion of Orissa down from the fall of the Nandas till Ashoka's invasion. Of course Buddhism was ushered in and it gained a firm footing in Orissa in the wake of Ashoka's invasion in the 3rd century B. C. Nevertheless Jainism was not relegated to the background in Orissa during this period. Even after Ashoka's invasion Jainism continued as a major religion.

In the 1st century B.C. Jainism appears to have reached the acme of its prestige and glory in Orissa during the reign of Kharavela of the Chedi dynasty. With utmost zeal and zest he was found to have championed the cause of Jainism in such a manner that it became once more the state religion of Orissa. This is evident from the Hatigumpha Inscription which he caused to be engraved on a rock at

Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar in the district of Puri. On a close study of the Inscription, it is to be seen that Kharavela was as much keen for the re-establishment of the supremacy of Jainism in Orissa as Ashoka was for the spread of Buddhism in this region. This is apparent from the very preamble of the Hatigumpha Inscription which contains a salutation to Arhats (Tirthankaras) and Siddhas (Liberated Souls). In order to fulfil his avowed object of re-establishing the Jaina supremacy in Orissa he adopted a few measures. The first measure in this direction was to recover the honoured seat of Jina from Magadha that belonged to Kalinga but had been taken away by a Nandaraja about three hundred years ago. With this end in view in the twelfth year of his reign Kharavela launched a massive war of revenge against Magadha, entered its capital, Pataliputra, defeated the Magadhan king Bahasatimita and carried away with him enormous wealth including the seat of Jina. This appears to have had great religious significance in the religious life of the people in the sense that it was connected either with State ritual or with royal household. Otherwise it would not have been taken away as a war trophy both by the Magadhan emperor after his victory over Kalinga and by Kharavela after his victory over Magadha. However Dr. K.C. Panigrahi opines that the honoured seat of Jina was connected with royal household and this conclusion has been derived from a panel of sculptural scenes found on the walls of Manchapuri cave in the Udayagiri hill.¹⁶ In identifying the scene, depicted therein Mr. T.R. Ramachandran writes, "as one in which the king perhaps Kharavela, the prince perhaps Kudapsiri and the queen or princess are doing honour to the image of the Kalinga Jina which Kharavela recovered from Magadha and restored to his people."¹⁷ The second measure that Kharavela adopted was one of benevolence. He decided to start a Jaina establishment in Kumari Parvata (Udayagiri and Khanda-giri hill). Evidently behind the selection of this site, lay one prime consideration and that was its secluded location that would provide to Jaina Monks an eminently suitable atmosphere for monastic life and Meditation and at the same time not be far from the capital Sisupalgarh, which was situated within a range of 10 km. from Kumari Parvata. Hence having abandoned war, in and from the 13th year of his reign Kharavela engaged himself in excavating a large number of caves on the Kumari Parvata for the shelter of the wandering Jaina monks during the rainy season. Several members of Kharavela's family also participated in the donation of caves. An inscription in the upper storey of cave No. 9 called Svargapuri reveals that it was donated by the chief queen (Aga Mahishi) of Kharavela in favour of the Jaina ascetics¹⁸. B. M. Barua refers to 117 such caves in all and this view is supported by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi.

But John Marshall enumerated 37 in both the hills¹⁹ while M. M. Ganguli enumerated them to be 27²⁰. In accordance with extreme penance of the Jaina monks, these caves with low heights and small doors were deliberately made neither commodious nor amenity-giving. Further, Kharavela is said to have distributed respectfully white garments among the monks and this indicates that he was a Svetambara Jaina. Although primarily benevolent towards the Jainas, Kharavela was never intolerant of other religions as was the case with many Indian kings of ancient time. His religious catholicity is known from Lines 16-17 of Hatigumpha Inscription which state that he was a worshipper of religious orders and he honoured the saints of all sects namely, the Brahmins, the Buddhists, the Jainas and the Ajivakas. Rightly with the passage of time these caves meant for the Jaina monks had become the abodes of the ascetics of all sects.

Even after the death of Kharavela Jainism appears to have enjoyed royal patronage during the rule of his successors. Of course it is not yet definitely known as to who were the successors of Kharavela on the throne of Kalinga. But from an inscription engraved on the verandah of the lower storey of Manchapuri cave in Udayagiri hill and sculptural scenes carved out on its wall as stated earlier, it can be suggested that Kudapsiri and Vadukha were the two successors of Kharavela, that they were all Jainas and that they took pride in the recovery of the honoured seat of Jina. Both of them have been described as Aira Maharaja and Kalingadhipati. Thus the rule of Mahameghavahanas of Chedi dynasty was the most glorious period of Jaina supremacy in Orissa.

From the fall of the Mahameghavahanas in about 1st century B.C. to the 7th century A.D. the history of Jainism in Orissa cannot be systematically traced. However some stray references lead us to opine that Jainism continued as a living religion and it retained its popularity among the mass although it ceased to enjoy royal patronage. Admittedly it suffered a partial set-back during this period owing to the ascendancy of Buddhism and Saivism.

In reference to a gold coin excavated at Sisupalgarh there was one Maharajadhiraj Dhammadamadhara (*i.e.*, Dharmadamadhara) who happened to be a Murunda king and a Jaina by faith.²¹ This king might have ruled over certain parts of Orissa and Bihar during the 2nd-3rd quarters of the 3rd century A.D.²² That he was a Jaina king is further indicated from its very mention in a Jaina literature²³. Further, it is known that in the last quarter of the 3rd century A.D. there was one king, Guhasiva who is stated to have worshipped the Nirgranthas (Jainas)²⁴. Jainism might have continued to flourish in Orissa in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. when the Nagas and the

Guptas constituted its ruling dynasties. It is revealed in the Asanpat Inscription of Keonjhar district that Maharaja Satrunjaya of Naga dynasty donated large amount of wealth to Bhikshus, Nirgranthas although he himself embraced Brahmanism²⁵. Further when the southern part of Kalinga remained under the Matharas, they appeared to have professed Jaina faith at the beginning of their rule. It is substantiated by the fact that the Mathara king named one of their headquarters as Vardamanapura in honour of Bhagavan Mahavira ²⁶. The Matharas were succeeded by the Early Gangas. Two royal princes of this dynasty are said to have accepted Jainism as known from the family tradition of the Gangas referred to in Sravanvelgola Inscription of Mysore. They were known to have used the sacred emblem of elephant indicating their respect to Jainism. One king Devendravarman appears to have used the elephant emblem in the seal of Bangalore copper plate.²⁷

In the 7th century A.D. Jainism was still in affluent condition in Orissa as known from the account of Hieun Tsang who visited this region in 639 A.D. Politically Orissa was then divided into three principalities—Odra, Kangoda and Kalinga. During his visit he observed that while “in Odra there were only 50 Deva temples; in Kangoda the Deva temples were 100 in number and of Tirthikas there were more than 10,000.....In Kalinga the professed adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being Nirgranthas.”²⁸ The Deva temples referred to therein might have been the Brahmanical shrines. However the observation of the Chinese pilgrim suggests that as late as the middle of the 7th century A.D. Jainism was in flourishing condition in Orissa, although Brahmanism had its sway in this region.

Further we come across certain evidences which show that in the 8th century A.D. when Sailodbhava dynasty was in power Jainism in Orissa was not in a state of decline. The Banpur copper plates of Dharmaraja Manabhita of Sailodbhava dynasty record a grant of lands to Prabuddhachandra at Madhuvataka village situated within the Vishaya of Thorana, a part of Kangoda²⁹. D. C. Sircar states that Prabuddha Chandra was possibly a Jaina monk. If this be accepted, then in and around Banpur there was located a Jaina establishment. This fact is further corroborated by the discovery of 10 Jaina bronzes and a large number of Chlorite images of Rishabh-nath which are now found within the enclosure of Daksha Prajapati temple at Banpur.³⁰ Those bronzes are dated to have been carved between 8th and 11th century A.D. Further a place namely Podsasingidi in the District of Keonjhar is found to have been an important Jaina centre in the 8th century A.D. as known from the availability

of a number of Jaina images of Rishabhanath, Parsvanath and Maha-vira etc. from this place.

In the recent exploration it is known that in the Prachi Valley Jainism flourished from 7th century to 9th century A.D. simultaneously with Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism.³¹ A nicely carved image of Rishabhadeva surrounded by 24 Tirthankaras has been preserved in the Swapneswar temple, the construction of which may be traced back to 7th century A.D. Similarly several beautiful images of the Jaina Tirthankaras found in the Prachi Valley eloquently speak that the flame of Jainism was still radiant in Orissa from 7th to 9th century A. D.

Jainism also continued to flourish in Orissa during the rule of the Somavamsi. Keshari of 10th and 11th century A. D. although Saivism was in its ascendancy then. This is proved by epigraphic and iconic evidences. It was in the reign of Saiva Somavamsi king, Udyotakeshari (1040 A.D.—1065 A.D.) that in Khandagiri hill some Jaina caves were found to have been carved out. Those were the latest group of Jain caves called Navamuni cave and Varabhuja cave³². Further Lalatendukeshari Gumphra cave No. 11 bears an inscription which records that in the fifth regnal year of Lalatendu Keshari he caused to have restored a decayed Vapi and temples on the Kumari hill (Khandagiri) and also images of the Tirthankaras were set up on the walls of the temple. Besides the epigraphic evidences, a large number of Jaina images belonging to this period (10th and 11th century A.D.) have been discovered from different parts of Orissa. Mostly they were found at Charampa in Bhadrak town, at Ayodhya in the district of Balasore, at Khiching in the district of Mayurbhanj and also in the districts of Keonjhar, Koraput, Cuttack and Puri. Jainism during this period flourished due to the fact that the Saivas were not antagonistic to Jainism. Rather they had, in certain cases, allowed the Jaina images to be placed in their temples. A number of miniature Jaina images carved in the Saiva temple of Mukteswar at Bhubaneswar is a brilliant illustration of this statement.³³

It was also during the reign of the Imperial Gangas and even the Gajapatis that Jainism was not in utter state of decadence in Orissa. It is known that in 1,100 Saka year or in the 11th regnal year of Anantavarma Rajaraja II of the Imperial Ganga dynasty, one Kannama Nayak, a devout worshipper of Jina and a subordinate of Utkal king installed a sacred image of Jina at Remaraniagiri in a temple called Rajaraja Jinalaya³⁴. Further on the walls of the Khandagiri cave 9 called Trisula Gumphra there are found relics of Tirthankaras which appear to have belonged to the 15th century A.D. or even later. Of course by this time, the rulers and their subjects were the patrons

of Brahmanism and it was then the predominant faith in Orissa. Naturally some Jaina centres might have been victims to its mighty influence and thereby Jainism was gradually eclipsed. There are found a number of Jaina images being worshipped as Hindu divinities.

After 16th century A.D. Khandagiri, the most illustrious centre of Jainism in Orissa was found to have been deserted. However having acquired spiritual domination as a beehive of Jaina activities for about 2,000 years with occasional breaks, Khandagiri and Udayagiri stand today as silent witnesses to the rise, growth and decline of Jainism in Orissa. It was in the first quarter of the 19th century A.D. that on the hilltop of Khandagiri an exquisitely beautiful temple has been erected by the Jainas. It has become one of the most sacred places for the Jaina pilgrims of India. In the recent times, the Digambar Mandir at Jaunliapati and the Swetambar Mandir in Choudhury Bazar of Cuttack city have been built by the Jaina community of Cuttack. Quite a good number of Jaina families are found now in and around Choudhury bazar area of Cuttack. The patrons of the Digambar Mandir of Cuttack have been able to collect and house therein a large number of Jaina images, found scattered all over the state.

Thus Jainism in Orissa had a long life and it continued as one of the religions of Orissa right up to modern times. Although its period of ascendancy came to an end with the opening of the Christian era, it continued to live through the ages as a minor religious sect along with other religions, mainly for its non-antagonistic attitude towards Brahmanism, Saivism and Saktism. Besides playing a fascinating role in the religious life of the people, it did contribute a lot to the enrichment of Indian cultural heritage, specially in the realm of art and architecture. Construction of a large number of caves, temples monasteries and images of Jaina Tirthankaras in Orissa has not only added a glorious feather to the cap of Indian art and architecture but has also contributed largely to the illustrious role that Jainism played in the ecclesiastical realm of our land. Of course human vandalism, coupled with the vagaries of nature, has razed a number of such monuments to the ground. Yet the remnants speak volumes of the Jaina influence in the history of our subcontinent.

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BUDDHISM AND ORISSA

ORISSA, the holy land of Lord Jagannath has been a meeting ground of various challenging faiths and sects through ages. The exponents of different faiths from Sankara to Shri Chaitanya could not forsake the desire of visiting this holy land on the East Coast of India and look at Shri Purushottama to discover in the all embracing image of the Lord, the Supreme Being of their faith and to be absorbed in the great ocean of the cult of the Lord. Thus Orissa possesses the wonderful spirit of assimilation of various religious faiths originating in the bosom of the Sanatana Dharma from Vedic belief to the unorthodox faith of the Buddhists. The culminating climax of this religious assimilation is found in the devotional note of poet Jayadev Goswami, of Orissa, when he sings "Keshava Dhritabuddhasarira Jaya Jagadisha Hare". The deep-rooted legend of the bloodthirsty Chandasoka turning into Dharmasoka in the thick of the battle and after a brilliant military victory, bowing reverentially before the yellow robed Upagupta to acknowledge his moral defeat, cannot be erased from the people's mind. This is at least evident that Buddhism had appealed to the people of this land, and made a notable progress in Orissa which contributed substantially to the enrichment and adorning of Buddhism. In the Foreword to "Buddhism in Orissa" by Dr. N. K. Sahu, Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt writes, "In the growth and the development of Buddhism, Orissa played an important part and it was the only province of India, except a few districts in Assam and East Pakistan, which preserved and nurtured the religion up to the 17th Century A.D."

The history of Buddhism is the history of the upward growth of religious thought of this land, "Bharata Varsha", from sixth century before Christ. In the words of Romila Thapar, "Buddhism was a product of socio-intellectual movement of sixth century B.C.". As such these centuries will remain distinguished for the intellectual development produced by the application of human reason to solve the riddle of life and death. Hari Sing Gour in his "Spirit of

Buddhism." says, 'Buddha has been spoken of as a social reformer, but he was less a reformer than a humanitarian. He was not a religious teacher, even as religion was then understood. For he never cared to go beyond the depth of human reason'. However, Buddhism has been regarded as a religion distinct from Hinduism and this arose as a protest against the latter. As it grew crossing the narrow regions of Nepalese Tarai it recruited followers large enough to assume vigour and maintain its separate identity. But as it was the reflection of the development of intellectual thought, always fluid, it could not rest where it was and though distinct stages of development with certain and distinct development from the past it grew into three distinct branches widely differing from each other in all aspects, the earliest form of which is known as Sravaka Yana or Hina Yana. This contained the ethics preached by the Sakyamuni while the later development Mahayana evolved a sound philosophy around it and the latest phase Tantra Yana evolved a system of Sadhana while maintaining the philosophical aspects of Mahayana. These three developments influenced the life and spirit of this land and found expression in the philosophy, art and literature, and Orissa, being the meeting ground of different faiths could not remain away from the spell of this. Although the earliest contact of Orissa with Buddhism is obscure, yet the contribution of Orissa to the three distinct developments of Buddhism is striking, specially the contribution to the latest phase is quite amazing.

The antiquity of Orissa in its ancient names Kalinga, Utkala and Odra dates back to the Brahmanical literature. The culture of Orissa has been greatly influenced by the Savar and Dravidian cultures, which once extended from Australia to South India, including Orissa. References to Orissa are not to be found in the Vedas because this was treated as a country of the Non-Aryans and "Boudhayana Dharmasutra" depicts Orissa as an unholy land:

Padbhyam Sa Kurute papam Yat Kalingan Prapadyate
Risayo Niskritim tasya Prahur Vaisvanaram Havih.
(Sacred Books of the East —Vol. XIV, p. 148)

However during the time of Brahmanical literature Orissa found positive expression in the Aryan texts. The Kapila Samhita depicts Utkala as a sacred land:

"Varsanam Bharatah Sresthah Desanamutkalah statha,
Utkalasya Samo Deso nasti kutra Mahitale."

This speaks of the Aryanisation of Kalinga. The episode in the Mahabharata narrating about the sage Dirghatama and his five sons Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Sumha and Pundra speaks of the mythical origin of Kalinga. The Vayu Purana depicts the origin of

Utkala after the name of the son of King Sudyumna and the Markandeya Purana faintly establishes the origin of the Aira Dynasty with Ila, the daughter of Manu. However, it is evident from the foregoing discussions that Aryan civilization penetrated into this country by the time referred to in the Epics and Kalinga was a distinct political entity although it is not included in the list of the sixteen great Janapadas due to some kind of political discomfitures. However, by this time Kalinga had found expression in various Brahmanical Texts.

Although Kalinga found emphatic expression in the different Buddhist texts including the Jatakas, it is quite difficult to determine at what particular point in history Buddhism penetrated into this land. It is evident from the Jaina Harivamsa that Mahavir came to Kalinga to preach his gospels. In the 'Tirtha Kalpa' Kalinga is said to be the son of Lord Adinath. That the twenty-third Tirthankara of the Jains preached his Dharma in Anga, Vanga and Kalinga is evident from the Jaina Bhagavati Sutra. It is said that after preaching his gospels at Tamralipta he came to Kopakataka, which is identified with Kupari by some scholars. But nowhere there is any reference to the Buddha to have preached his gospels in Orissa. However, the Buddhavamsa and the Dathadhatu Vamsa make us believe that after the death of the Buddha, as a relic, one of his teeth was carried to Dantapura, the then Capital of Kalinga. But there is difference of opinion as reflected in the texts. The Kumbhakara Jataka tells us the story of King Karandu becoming a convert to Buddhism while the Jaina Uttaradhyayana Sutra says that Karandu was a Jaina. It is, however, a riddle to place king Karandu at a particular point of time in history. The story of King Kalinga II paying reverence to the Bodhi tree, in its mythical version at least speaks of the early touch of Kalinga with Buddhism not on a wide basis but on individual basis.

The statement describing the two tribes of Utkala Vassa and Vanna receiving the message of the Buddha is furnished by the Maha Chattarisaka Sutta of Majjhima Nikaya. The Pali texts inform us about Sakyamuni the two merchant brothers of Utkala paying reverence to the and becoming the lay disciples. These two brothers were Trapusa and Bhallika who found popular expression in Buddhist literature and it is interesting to note that they even visited Ceylon and erected a Chaitya there.

What seems conclusive from the above informations is not that Buddhism made any progress during that period in the land under discussion, but simply a scattered and remote contact of individuals with the faith of the Buddha was established. During the first Buddhist Council at Rajagriha shortly after the Mahaparinirvana of

the Buddha the followers were trying to consolidate. But during the second Council, there was sharp division among the adherents of Buddhism. During these two Councils however, Kalinga does not figure as a land of Buddhism, but it cannot be said that Kalinga did not feel the spell of Buddhism or Kalinga was not known to the Buddhists if Buddhism spread far south as far as the Godavari region and influenced the social and cultural life of the inhabitants as is furnished by the Sutta Nipata. The Rock Edict XIII of Asoka makes it explicitly clear that both Brahmanas and Sramanas equally bore the brunt of the war. What is evident from this is that Buddhism was making a gradual headway to this land and it cannot be said that Buddhism was unknown to the people of Kalinga during the second Council at Vaisali.

The Asokan Age ushered into Buddhism a new spirit and instilled a fresh vigour and under the royal patronage Buddhism could not be confined to the limited regions and assumed the shape and vigour of all India religion and crossing the frontiers of India it rapidly brought under its bosom the foreign lands. It is no exaggeration if Mahindra reported to Devanam Piya Tissas of Ceylon "Jambudwipa itself glitters with yellow robes" as recorded in the Mahavamsa. So Asokan period can be termed as the golden period when Buddhism not only touched the limits of Bharatavarsha but marched out for the intellectual and spiritual conquest of the foreign lands. The obscure history of Buddhism in Kalinga becomes clear and sure with the accession of Asoka and specially after the Kalinga War in 261 B.C.

The Kalinga War vanquished a freedom loving people (previously unconquered) who lost their political sovereignty and cultural vigour as a result of the terrible war which brought untold misery and hardship to a proud people but ushered in a new age to give a fitting tribute to this military genius, so long a Chandasoka, who hereafter forsaking "Bherighosha" was to resort to "Dharma Ghosha" to inaugurate the new spiritual imperialism to be based on peace and fraternity. Thus out of the horrors of the Kalinga war emerged a new Asoka and Kalinga war became a turning point in his life. However, the historians differ among themselves to accept the traditional idea that Asoka's conversion to Buddhism was a direct and immediate result of the Kalinga war. Romila Thapar in his "Asoka and the decline of the Mauryas" puts forth various probable reasons which might have acted upon and prompted Asoka to accept Buddhism from social, political, moral, psychological and rational points of view. Similarly his abandonment of war was probably not due to his conversion but due to the dictates of administrative exigencies. Even various scholars including the author mentioned before are not prepared to accept Asoka's Dhamma as the teachings of Buddhism.

Thapar says "The policy of Dhamma was a policy rather of social responsibility than merely demanding that the entire population should favour Buddhism. Dhamma was largely an ethical concept related to the individual in the context of the society." As such Buddhism was a personal factor to Asoka and he never made Buddhism the state religion. Thus what Asoka propagated was not canonical Buddhism but his own conception of social morality for peace and harmony in the Mauryan India. That Asoka's conversion was not the result of a sudden emotional upheaval is clear from the fact that Rock Edicts 11, 12 and 13 were not allowed to be engraved in Kalinga molested by his thirst for blood. Instead, two separate Edicts were meant for Dhauili and Jaugarh.

Although Asoka did not preach Buddhism personally, yet Buddhism received the stimulus under his patronage and its dominant note was to be harked throughout Bharata Varsha. However, by this time Buddhism had lost its homogeneity and had split into Theravada, Sravastivada and Mahasamghika. Although different versions are there to claim that Asoka favoured this or that section, yet it is quite improbable on the part of a religious liberal like Asoka to have been sectarian enough to favour any particular group or section. Rather under his vigorous patronage all sections must have tried to enhance their sphere and recruit more and more followers. Thus Kalinga already in touch with early Hinayana Buddhism must have become a field of operation of the three different sections which is also corroborated by historical evidences. During this time Buddhism made a notable progress in Kalinga.

The Third Buddhist Council held at Pataliputra under the presidentship of Moggaliputta Tissa for the purging of the sects other than the Vibhajjavadins though opened to question by various historians, it is probable that after this Council, reputed monks were dispatched to various parts of the country inside and outside Asoka's Empire to propagate the Dhamma and to sanctify the Sanghas as per the decree of the Council. In this process Mahadeva a notable monk of the order, led his mission to Mahisamandala and is known to have come to Kalinga. Asoka's brother Tissa, who was appointed Uparaja by Asoka, chose to be an Arhat and came to be known as Eka-viharika. He came to Kalinga and a monastery called Bhojaakagiri Vihara was built for him by the emperor. It is said that Dharmaraksita a notable monk of the order spent his last days with Tissa in the said Vihara. The missions of Arjitha the nephew of Devanampiya and celebrated Mahindra the son of Asoka *via* Tamralipti, cannot be ignored as such missions must have produced a stir and infused great enthusiasm among the people for Buddhism.

With Asoka as Imperial Patron vigorous missionary activities were undertaken by the giant intellectual monks of the order to give a new lease of life to Buddhism as a result of which the remote areas felt the fragrance of the Buddhist gospel and the whole country became vibrant with a new energy. As such Kalinga was no exception to it and Buddhist resurgence in Kalinga must have been the desired result.

Dr. N. K. Sahoo in his "Buddhism in Orissa" has taken much pain to describe in great length the remnants of the Buddhist art in Orissa. The similarity which the learned author establishes with other similar arts at Bharhut and Sanchi is quite revealing of the fact that Orissa was no longer to lag behind.

The geographical position of Kalinga and its strategic importance which induced the Maurya Emperor to conquer Kalinga is revealing of the fact that Kalinga maintained close enterprise with Burma (Subarna Bhumi) and Ceylon and the southern territories. If Buddhism spread in the distant lands it is evident that the monks and missionaries sailed from Kalinga and on their way to those countries they would not have left Kalinga behind them. As such Kalinga must have played a prominent part in such cultural colonisation as is evident also from the scriptures like the Dipavamsa, and other indigenous and foreign inscriptions. In this short space it is not possible to give the details of such accounts; however, the cultural intercourse, that ancient Orissa maintained with other countries is a recognised fact and such intercourse helped the growth and spread of Buddhism in other parts and as such Orissa became a prominent centre of Hinayana Buddhism till the difference between the Hinayanists and the Mahayanists became clear. Buddhism was not only confined to the recluses of the monastery, but also it assumed a mass basis embracing the whole life of the society which undermined the political stability of the State which is known from the popular legends and the accounts of the Dathavamsa of Ceylon, which even speaks of not only the political debacle but also the transfer of the sacred relic of the Buddha (tooth) to Ceylon from Dantapura where it was previously placed. In early Christian era, Dantapura, Tosali and Puspagiri were chief centres of Buddhism. Owing to the transfer of the sacred relic Dantapura declined, but Puspagiri continued to thrive and as late as the 7th Century A.D. captivated the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. Up to the time of Harshavardhan (7th Century A. D.) Orissa remained a strong centre of Hinayana Buddhism on popular basis. This is evident from the story of King Harsha being reproached and challenged by the Hinayana monks in Orissa for his benevolence shown to the monks of the Nalanda Vihara. This challenge for intellectual duel was accepted by Harsha. But whether the

contest took place or not is not known. From its face value it is evident that any Mahayana monk of high repute was not present in Orissa then. But after Harshavardhan the Mahayanists started their conquest, and under the early Bhaumakaras who came within a century after King Harsha, Mahayana faith had its stronghold in this land.

Taking accounts from Taranath, the Tibetan chronicler and the *Prajna Paramita* sutra Dr. N. K. Sahoo establishes the fact that Orissa (Odivisa in Taranatha's account) was the land of the origin of Mahayanism. But because of the migration of such monks it failed to flourish there up to 7th Century A.D. Cultural development is destined to be influenced by political overtures like all other developments. As such, Buddhism which under the lavish patronage of Asoka assumed the scheme of vigorous propaganda would have suffered a set-back with the emergence of Kharavela in Kalinga who was a Jaina, though he was not a religious bigot. Again the emergence of the Kushan Ruler Kaniska, opened a period of hectic activities for the monks of Mahayana Buddhism. The brilliant galaxy of Buddhist scholars adorning Kushan court caused their influence to be felt in the length and breadth of the country and with a fresh vigour Buddhism was once again ready for the foreign lands. Orissa, of course was not under the Kushan domination in spite of the Kushan coins found at many places. Yet in this heyday of Buddhism Orissa could never have been away from its magic spell. What is more, Buddhism became a popular religion of Orissa and the different centres of Buddhism that sprang up at Tosali, Tamralipti, Ratnagiri and the controversial Che Li Ta Lo, caused the spread of the flavour of Mahayanic doctrine up to 9th Century A.D. and onwards.

With the large number of Buddhist centres developing in this country at different times various learned Acharyas, from Nagarjuna, the propagator of Madhyamika philosophy during Kaniska and his disciple Aryadeva to Asanga and Vasubandhu championing Yogachar school during the Guptas, lost their influence. This was the culminating epoch in the history of Buddhism, owing to the emergence of brilliant luminaries in the intellectual firmament of Buddhism. Dignaga, Vasumitra, Silabhadra, Dharmakirti, Santideva and many others preached and propounded their variant philosophies. The invincible chariot of Buddhism rolled over the whole land amidst popular acclaim.

Towards seventh and eighth century Tantric Buddhism was a dominant force not only in Orissa but in other parts also. This tantrism influenced the religion, literature and even the society at large. Though scholars differ in their opinion about the Indian origin of

Tantrayana and about the period of its origin, the Bauddhacharyas of Orissa in 7th and 8th century had composed in Sanskrit language many texts on Tantra. Among them Kanhupa, Savaripa, Luipa, Indrabhuti and Laxmikanta are to be mentioned. It is most interesting to note that 'Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang' of Tibbet refers to Odiyan as the land of origin of the Tantric Buddhism. There is difference of opinion among the scholars to identify Odiyan with Orissa. But the fact stands as Dr. B. Mohanty says, in the "Bauddha Gana O' Doha" lies the origin of the Eastern Indian languages as Oriya, Bengali, Maithili and Assamese. As the Acharyas of the Doha belonged to the Odiyan Pitha there is no reason to identify Odiyan with some other place ignoring the linguistic factor. The Kali Purana relates Jagannath and Katyayani with the Odiyan Pitha.

Vimala Sa Mahadevi Jagannathastu Bhairavah
Katyayani Choddiyane Kamakhya Kamarupini.

The Kubjika Tantra describes Viraja as the Maheswari of Oddiyan. Dr. Bhattacharya while erroneously speaks of Orissa as a part of Bengal identifies Uddiyana with Orissa. B. C. Law in his Buddhistic studies identified Uddiyana with Orissa. Among the five Tantra pithas referred to in the Kalika Purana Odra is the first and we find numerous references to the other Pithas in the 16th Century Vaisnava literature of Orissa.

Uddiyana being the premier centre of Tantrayana a large number of siddhas emerged here. Lama Taranath gives a long list of Siddhas to have flourished in Uddiyana. According to various scholars these Siddhas flourished in between 950 A.D. and 1200 A.D. Although it is improbable to say that all the 84 Siddhas hailed from Orissa, yet it will be no exaggeration to accept most of them to have belonged to this place.

The Tantrayana branch or Mantranvaya was divided into Kalachakrayana, Vajrayana and Sahajayana. Indrabhuti, the King of Sambhal, identified with modern Sambalpur, was the champion of Vajrayana and in his Jnana Siddhi he has accepted Lord Jagannath as the Buddha—

Pranipatya Jaganantham
Sarva Janavararchitam,
Sarva Buddhamayam Siddhi-
Vyapinam gaganopamam.

His son Padma Sambhava went to Tibbet to preach Tantrayana according to Wadel during 780-95 A.D., while Laxminkara the sister of Indrabhuti, helped propounding Sahajayana.

Uddiyana or Orissa with various centres at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitagiri and Alatigiri was transmitting this faith to various parts including Nepal and Tibet. Pitopada, an Acharya of Ratnagiri was the founder of Kalachakrayana. Thus Mahayana Buddhism with its various branches, such as Vajrayana, Sahajayana and Kalachakrayana was highly popular in Orissa. It not only influenced the life and religious philosophy of the people but also found emphatic expression in the Art and specially the separate line of literature originated with it which even greatly influenced the subsequent literary creations. The Vaishnava literature of Orissa incorporated many aspects of Tantric Buddhism in a modified way. Through this process of assimilation the last phase of Buddhism was incorporated into Oriya literature which radiated its glow to appeal to the heart and mind of the millions satisfying their religious aspirations. If Buddhism has been expelled from the land of its birth, it has undergone physical transformation which influenced Orissan art, literature and philosophy up to 17th Century A.D. Orissa contributed to the development and splendour of Buddhism in a magnificent way which maintains the singularity of Orissa in comparison to other parts of India. If Buddha is no more, if Buddhist Vihara with its sweet philosophic fragrance has disappeared and buried, and if Buddhist monks no more move about in their yellow robes, certain aspects of Buddhism still prevail in the culture of Orissa unnoticed to the naked eye. The cult of Jagannath and the concept of Trimurti as Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha are the brilliant instances of it.

SAIVISM IN ORISSA

SAIVISM is said to be a blend of two lines of cultural development namely the pre-Aryan and the Aryan. The element of phallic worship, which is associated with this cult but condemned in the Vedas,¹ seems to have been borrowed from the pre-Aryan Indus culture.² The figure of male god seated in Yogic posture, found at Mohenjodaro, may, with a tolerable degree of certainty, be taken as identical with Rudra-Siva of the Aryans.³ In the Rigveda, the name Siva does not occur as a proper noun whereas Rudra is described as a terrible god whose wrath could be appeased by offerings.⁴ But in Satarudriya (Taittiriya Samhita), he is represented both as a malevolent and a benevolent god. In the latter aspect, he was known as Siva. This development found culmination in the Svetasvatara Upanishad where Siva is described as the great soul whose work is the universe, who always dwells in the hearts of men, who is knowable by faith, love or the pure heart and having known Him, one attains eternal peace.⁵ Here we find the beginning of the theistic system.

We come across the earliest mention of Siva worship in the account of Megasthenes (300 B.C.)⁶. In second century B. C., Patanjali⁷ mentioned the Siva-Bhagavatas as ascetics moving with iron tridents in their hands. The earliest coins bearing image of Siva with trident in hand on the obverse and his bull on the reverse belonged to the Kushanas in A.D. first century.⁸ About this time, there arose in west India a great propounder of Saivism named Lakulisa who is regarded as the last incarnation of Mahesvara and the founder of the Pasupata sect. He had four eminent disciples namely Kusika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurusya or Rusta. The tenets of this sect are summed up by Madhava in 'Sarva-darsana-samgraha' under the name of Nakulisa-Pasupata.⁹ The popularity of this cult under the Guptas is attested to by the Mathura pillar inscription¹⁰ of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya dated in Gupta year 61 (380 A.D.) which records the installation of two images by Uditacharya, the

tenth Guru after Kusika, the direct disciple of Lakulisa. In the post-Gupta period, Saivism rose into importance all over India. But there was no homogeneity in it. During this time, another sect of Saivism called the Mattamayura took its birth in central India and flourished in the Haihaya kingdom of Tripuri.¹¹ In later times, the Mattamayura cult gained popularity in western Orissa whereas the Lakulisa cult became influential in the coastal regions of this province.

Saivism was in flourishing condition in Orissa long before the advent of the Mattamayura and Lakulisa cults. Although the early history of Saivism in Orissa is now lost in obscurity, it seems that it had a parallel growth and development with those in other parts of India. The Asanpat stone inscription¹² in Keonjhar district containing a beautiful image of Nataraj is the earliest known epigraphic evidence indicating Siva worship in this region. This inscription records the building of a temple (Devayatana) evidently of Lord Siva by Maharaja Sri Satrubhanja of Naga dynasty and is ascribed to A. D. fourth century. The image under which the record is inscribed, depicts Nataraja Siva with eight hands. In his two upper hands, he holds a snake and in the lower two arms he plays with a lute. One of his hands exhibits varada-mudra while in the other three, he holds a Trisula, a Dambaru and an Aksha-mala. It is in naked Urdhvalinga form indicating Tandava dance of Siva after his consort Sati gave away her life in the sacrificial altar of her father Daksha Prajapati. Nandi and Bhrukuti, his two attendants are represented on both the sides. It is the earliest Nataraj image found in Orissa and speaks of the popularity of Saivism in this country in A.D. 4th century.

The early Nala kings of Kosala (Western Orissa), Bhavadattavarman¹³ and Arthapatiraja¹⁴ in 5th century A.D. were worshippers of Siva and they declared in their charters that their kingdom was bestowed on them by Mahesvara and Mahasena (Maha-mahesvara-Mahasena-srita rajyavibhavah).

In Kalinga (South Orissa), though the Mathara kings in 4th and 5th centuries A.D. were patrons of Vaishnavism, they had no dislike for Saivism. Satrudamana of Simhapura, who was probably a subordinate ruler under Mathara king Saktivarman, was a worshipper of Damanesvara Siva.¹⁵ The Vasistha king, Anantavarman, also calls himself a devout worshipper of Mahesvara.¹⁶

The Eastern Gangas, who established their rule in Kalinga in A. D. 498, were great patrons of Saivism. The earliest known ruler of this dynasty, Indravarman I, pays homage to Paramesvara who is described as the creator, sustainer and destroyer of all the worlds.¹⁷ The tutelary deity of the Ganga rulers was Gokarnasvami Siva,

installed on the crest of the mount Mahendra. In the Preamble of their charters, they worship at the lotus feet of this great God.

In Uttara Tosali or Utkala, Saivism was in flourishing state during this time. In the last quarter of sixth century, Maharaja Shri Sambhuyasa, the Mudgala king of this territory, was a devout worshipper of Lord Siva.¹⁸ Early in the second decade of seventh century A.D., Utkala was occupied by king Sasanka of Karnasuvarna who was a devout Saiva and a great patron of Saivism. In the Ekamra Purana¹⁹ we get repeated references to the building of a magnificent temple for the Lingam of Tribhuvanesvara at Ekamra by king Sasanka who is known as Chandrama in this work. In chapter 13, there is a discourse between Siva and Brahma in which the latter expresses his desire to build a temple for the former, but Siva wants to remain in the open ground till the Kali Age, when king Chandrama (Sasanka) would build for him a beautiful, white and purifying stone temple. In chapter 48, Siva says that in Kali Age "my devotee Sasanka, the lord of the earth, with his mind fixed on none (except me) will rule a portion of the earth extending up to Kalinga. According to my command, he will construct a massive and beautiful temple for me."

The tradition about Sasanka building the temple of Tribhuvanesvara is also found in the Kapila Samhita,²⁰ the Svarnadri Mahodaya²¹ and the Ekamra Chandrika.²² This shows that the worship of self-revealed (Svayambhu) Lingam was popular in Bhubanesvar (Ekamra) long before Sasanka who constructed there the temple of Tribhuvanesvara with a view to giving Saivism a prominent position. Soon after this, a large number of Siva temples raised their heads at Ekamra and the city came to be regarded as a great Saiva Kshetra in India. Later on, it assumed the name of Bhubanesvar after the deity Tribhuvanesvara. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi believes that the temple built by Sasanka has been replaced by the present great temple of Lingaraj.²³

After Sasanka, Saivism found royal patronage under the Sailodbhavas of Kongoda-mandala. The early Saiva temples of Bhubanesvar namely Parasuramesvara, Satrugnesvara, Bharatesvara, Svarnajalesvara and Lakshmanesvara, were built during this period. Even on the eve of the conquest of Utkala by Sasanka, the Sailodbhava king Chharamparaja, in his Khandipada Nuapalli grant²⁴ professed his profound faith in Trilochana Siva whose "head is decorated with flowers like lotus and lily and whose matted hair is adorned with the shining gems of the serpent tied to it." Sailodbhava king Madhavaraja II, who was a feudatory of Sasanka, declares in his Ganjam grant (619 A.D.)²⁵ that he was "devoted to the feet of the blissful Master of the three worlds (Tribhuvana-guroh) who is the cause of creation, existence and destruction, whose arms are placed on the hump of the

great bull resembling the pillow of a couch and whose matted hair is illuminated by the crescent of the moon." From the Buguda copperplates of this king onwards, the Sailodbhava charters assumed a set preamble in which the blessing of the matted hair of Siva is sought. The opening verse of these charters runs as follows:

इन्दोदिव्यमृणालतन्तुभिरिव क्षिप्टाः करैः कोमलै-

वंद्धाहेरुणैः स्फुरत्क्षणमणेदिग्धप्रभाः प्रांशुभिः ।

पार्वत्याः सकचग्रहव्यतिकरव्यावृत्तबन्धश्लयाः

गङ्गाम्भःप्लुतिभिन्नमस्मकणिकाः शम्भोजंटाः पान्तु वः ॥

(Let ye be saved by the matted hairs of Siva that are embraced by the moon with his tender hands (beams) resembling the clean fibres of a lotus stalk, whose radiance is besmeared with the tawny rays of the bright hood-gem of the great serpent, whose tie becomes loose when Parvati seizes Siva by the hair and from which particles of ashes are washed away by the leap of the Gangetic water).²⁶

During the time of the Sailodbhavas, the Lakulisa-Pasupata cult found its way to Orissa. In the Bharatesvara temple, Lakulisa is given a conspicuous place at Rāhāpaga in the front part of this temple and in the Parasuramesvara temple his image is carved in low relief at the base of the Jagamohana. But the influence of the cult in this period is not so remarkable and it did not receive any patronage from the Sailodbhava kings. According to the 'Saddarsana Samucchaya' of Acharya Haribhadra, the Pasupata sect worshipped Lord Siva who is not associated with the matted hair, the river Ganges, the cobra, the crescent, the garland of skulls, the besmearing of ashes and also with Parvati.²⁷ All these attributes are, however, found in the charters of the Sailodbhavas as well as in the records referring to Sasanka.

Lakulisa-Pasupata cult seems to have gained ascendancy during the time of the Bhauma-Karas. The Muktesvara temple of Bhuvanesvar built during this period had a good number of miniature images of Lakulisa all over its body. They are specially found in the ornamented chaitya arches in various mudras, such as Bhumisparsa, Yoga and Dharma-Chakra-Pravartana. It is interesting to mark that here they are not accompanied by the figures of their disciples.

Although the early Bhauma-Kara rulers were devout Buddhists (Paramasaugata), they did not refuse patronage to the Saiva sect. Madhavi Devi, queen of Buddhist king Subhakaradeva I, is known to have built the temple of Madhavesvara Siva and appointed a Saiva Acharya for conducting the worship.²⁸ The Hindol plate²⁹ of king Subhakaradeva III records the donation of a village Naddilo in

Uttar Tosali for the worship of the god Vaidyanatha Bhattaraka installed in the Pulindesvara temple built by Pulindaraja.

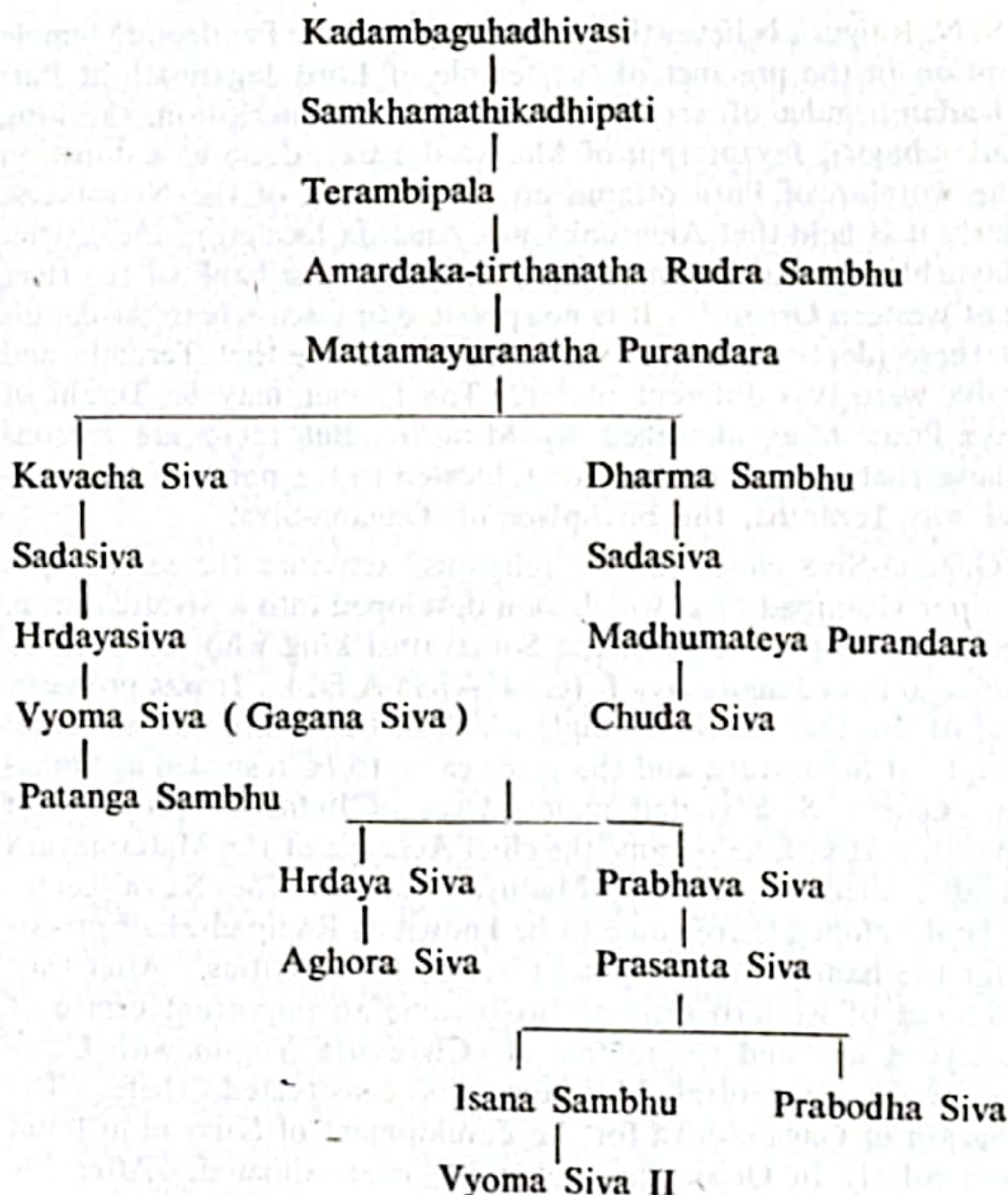
Subhakaradeva IV was a Sivaite ruler and he was the first Bhauma king to declare himself Parama-mahesvara, the devout worshipper of Lord Siva. The two Baud charters³⁰ of Bhauma reigning queen, Prithvi-Mahadevi (A.D. 894) record the grant of villages for the worship of Uma-Mahesvara enshrined in the temple of Nannesvara—Siva built by Sasilekha in commemoration of her deceased father, Nanna. A number of examples can thus be gathered from the epigraphic records to show that Saivism was popular in the coastal plains of Orissa during the rule of the Bhauma-Karas.

Western Orissa (Kosala) in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. was under the rule of the Amararyas³¹ (the Sarabhapuriyas) who were all Parama Bhagavatas, *i.e.*, devout Vaishnavas. After them, the early Somavamsis till the accession of Balarjuna were also worshippers of Vishnu. Saivism could not, therefore, make much progress during this time. But from Balarjuna onwards, all Somavamsi kings without exception were Parama-Mahesvaras. In fact, this period was a golden age for Saivism in Orissa.

The form of Saivism which received the patronage of king Balarjuna and his successors was the Mattamayura sect. This sect was so named because it was first propounded in the city of Mattamayura in central India by Acharya Purandara Svami. We get an account of this sect from a number of inscriptions the most important of which were the Ranod inscription³² and the Bilhari inscription.³³ Prof. Mirashi, on the study of these inscriptions draws the genealogy of the Mattamayura Acharyas as shown in the next page.³⁴

The Senakapata inscription³⁵ of the time of Balarjuna records the building of a temple by Durgarakshita for Sadasivacharya who hailed from Amardaka penance-grove, which was an important centre of Mattamayura sect. It cannot, however, be definitely asserted that he is identical with either Acharya Sadasiva of the above list. In the Lodhia copperplate charter,³⁶ king Balarjuna donated a grant for the worship of Isanesvara Bhattaraka at the request of his Saiva Guru Sulapani who was a disciple of Pramathacharya. Sulapani and Pramathacharya apparently belonged to the Mattamayura school. The Senakapata inscription sheds some interesting light on the doctrine of this sect. In verses 22-23, it says that the Saiva ascetics should arrange sacrificial ceremony, the exposition of Saiva doctrine, the initiation of people into Saiva faith and free distribution of food on the full-moon days of Asadha, Kartika and Magha every year.

The sect of Mattamayura became dominant in western Orissa with the rise of Acharya Gagana-Siva in the last



quarter of A.D. 9th century³⁷. Gagana-Siva is also known by the names of Gaganesa, Vyomesa, Vyoma-Siva, Gagana Sasimauli etc. He built the temple of Somesvara Siva at Ranipur-Jharial of western Orissa and left there an inscription in which he introduced himself as 'one hailing from Teramba situated in the north' (Uttara-Terambagriha-vinirgatah).³⁸ B. C. Chhabra who edited this inscription believes that Gagana Siva's original home was at Terambi which was a centre of the Mattamayura sect. The third Acharya of this school was known as Terambipala. There is, however, controversy regarding the location of the Mattamayura centres. Some historians have tried to identify Kadambaguhya with Kadwaha, Terambi with Terahi and Amardaka with Amod of Madhya Pradesh.³⁹ But Orissan scholars have located these places within the state of Orissa.

Shri S. N. Rajguru believes that Kadambagiri of the Patalesvara temple inscription in the precinct of the temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri was Kadambaguha of ancient time.⁴⁰ In this inscription, the king of Kadambagiri, Jayantaraju of Matsya dynasty, declares a donation for the worship of Purusottama on the occasion of the Netrotsava. Similarly it is held that Amardaka was Amarda located in the district of Mayurbhanj⁴¹ and Teramba was Temra on the bank of the river Tong of western Orissa.⁴² It is not possible to discuss here the details about these identifications. We, however, believe that Terambi and Teramba were two different places. The former may be Terahi of Madhya Pradesh as identified by Mirashi. But there are reasons to believe that Temra, on the Tong, located to the north of Ranipur-Jharial was Teramba, the birthplace of Gagana-Siva.

Gagana-Siva chose for his religious activities the serene spot of Ranipur (Ranipadraka) which soon developed into a Sivaite centre. He received the patronage of the Somavamsi king who seems to be Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya I (c. 845—885 A.D.). It was probably because of this that the Siva temple which he built there was named as the temple of Somesvara and the place came to be regarded as Soma-Tirtha. Gagana-Siva visited many places of India for propagation of Saivism. At last, he became the chief Acharya of the Mattamayura sect and settled himself in Madhya-Pradesh. The Saiva centre which he developed there came to be known as Ranipadraka⁴³ probably after the name of the original place of his activities. After this, Ranipadraka of western Orissa also became an important centre of Mattamayura sect and the temple of Chausathi Yogini with Uma-Mahesvara in the central Mandapa was constructed there. The contribution of Gagana-Siva for the development of Saivism in India and particularly in Orissa can never be overestimated. After his death, he was deified by his followers and later on in the closing years of twelfth century, the temple of Meghesvara was built for him at Bhubanesvara.

Acharya Gagana-Siva was succeeded by his disciple Patanga Sambhu. The latter is sometimes identified with Patanga Siva who was the preceptor of Ganga king Devendravarman I as revealed from the Dharmalingesvar copperplate inscription of Samvat 184 (A.D. 682).⁴⁴ The identification does not hold good as Acharya Gagan-Siva is known to have flourished in the last quarter of A.D. tenth century. Patanga Siva of Dharmalingesvar inscription appears to be an early Acharya of Mattamayura sect. This cult seems to have gained entrance into the coastal Orissa in A.D. seventh century.

In 9th and 10th centuries, the Bhanja rulers of Khinjali-mandala and of Khichinga-mandala were also patrons of Saivism. The early

Bhanjas of Baud were devotees of Vishnu. Ranabhanja in the first part of his reign was a Vaishnava king although his chief queen Vijaya Mahadevi was a devotee of Siva.⁴⁵ It is during this period that the twin temples of Nilamadhava and Siddhesvara at Gandhatapati (Gandharadi) were built in fulfilment of the religious desires of the king and the queen. Ranabhanja in the last part of his reign became a devout worshipper of Lord Siva probably being influenced by his queen. After Ranabhanja, the Bhanjas shifted to Ghumsar region and made Vanjolvaka their headquarters. The invocation of Lord Siva found in the charters of the Ghumsar Bhanjas shows that they were patrons of the Mattamayura sect. The verse describes Sadasiva Sankara with matted hair, crescent moon, ashes and cobra.⁴⁶

About 1000 A.D., the coastal plains of Orissa came under the possession of the Somavamsis who decorated the town of Bhuvaneshvar with a number of Saiva temples. The temple of Indresvara⁴⁷ which is now known as Rajarani temple was probably built by Indraratha in the first quarter of A.D. 11th century. It is really mysterious that this beautiful edifice at present contains no deity in the sanctum. The two figures on the door-jambs of its Jagamohana wears Jata-mukuta, a garland of skulls and a cobra which remind us of the Mattamayura cult whereas on the lintel occurs an image of Lakulisa with his four disciples on the side panels. The next important Siva temple in chronological order was the gigantic Lingaraj which is ascribed to Mahasivagupta Yayati II, the successor of Indraratha. Standing on a compound measuring 520 feet in length and 465 feet in breadth and rising to a height of about 180 feet, it is regarded as the most magnificent Siva temple in India. As suggested above, the temple was probably constructed in place of the old one built by Sasanka. With this, Saivism reached the pinnacle of glory in Orissa. Kalavati Devi, queen of Yayati II, built the temple of Brahmesvara at Siddha-tirtha in Ekamra during the reign of her son Udyota Kesari about the middle of A.D. eleventh century and she dedicated for Lord Siva some beautiful dancing women.⁴⁸ In architectural and sculptural features, this temple bears close affinity to the temple of Lingaraj.

After Udyota Kesari, the Somavamsi power declined and about 1110 A.D. Utkala was occupied by Ganga king Chodagangadeva. In the beginning, Chodagangadeva was a devout worshipper of Siva, but later on he changed his religious conception and called himself Parama Vaishnava. It is Chodagangadeva who built the majestic temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri. After this, the cult of Jagannath became the religion of Orissa and Saivism had to choose for a peaceful co-existence with it.

During the rule of the Gangas and the Suryavamsis and even subsequently, vigorous efforts were made for synthesis of Saivism and Vaishnavism. Sterling in "Account of Orissa" (1822) has recorded that according to the orthodox interpretation the three images, Balabhadra, Jagannath and Subhadra respectively represent Siva, Vishnu and Durga.⁴⁹ This idea was probably prevailing in the later medieval Orissa. Hereafter, the Siva-lingam of the Lingaraj temple came to be regarded as Harihara and not Hara alone and accordingly the daily worship of the deity, the mantras in which he is worshipped, the offerings given to him, the rites and rituals and the festivals and ceremonies underwent significant changes.⁵⁰

The religious movement for a synthesis of Saivism and Vaishnavism spread throughout Orissa. A product of this movement was the temple of Hari-Sankara built in 15th century A.D. at the foot of Mount Gandhamardana in Balangir district. This temple came to be regarded as a place of pilgrimage by both the sects. Gradually the dividing line between Saivism and Vaishnavism in Orissa dwindled down and the Hindus of this state now believe in the saying of the Ekamra Purana that "There is no distinction between Vishnu and Siva. This is the eternal Dharma and the man, who observes this Dharma, attains Mukti."⁵¹

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SAIVISM IN ANCIENT ORISSA

IN Hindu pantheon Śiva is considered as the great god, the god of all gods as well as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the whole world. The worship of Śiva, both in iconic and phallic forms goes back to the period of Indus valley civilisation. But "the rise of a definite religious sect, revering Śiva as the Supreme God and with a philosophy and organisation of its own, cannot be traced back earlier than about the beginning of the Christian era."¹

In Orissa, however, the worship of Śiva can be traced back to the fourth century A.D. The images of Śiva discovered at Asanapat in the Keonjhar district² is the earliest evidence of Śiva worship prevalent in this land. The image depicts him in *naṭarāja* posture with eight hands, of which two are engaged in playing the *vīṇā* across the chest and two in holding the snake over the head. Of the rest four hands one displays the *varada mudrā*, while the three others hold the *triśūla*, *akṣamālā* and *ḍambaru*; the image is in naked *ūrdhvaliṅga* form indicating *tāṇḍava* dance after his consort Sati gave away her life in the sacrificial altar prepared by her father Dakṣa Prajāpati. His attendants, Nandi and Bhṛkuṭi are represented on both of his sides. The image is one of the beautiful specimens of Orissan art.

Saivism seems to have replaced Buddhism as the dominant faith in Orissa as a result of her coming into contact with the all-pervasive Gupta culture in the fifth century A.D. We find both literary and archaeological evidences about the conflict between the Buddhists and the Sivaitees as well as the victory of the latter over the former. The *Ekāmra Purāṇa*³ mentions a conflict between the demons and the gods, in which Śiva on behalf of the gods defeated the demons. This is nothing but an echo of the struggle between the Buddhists and the Sivaitees in which the latter triumphed over the former. The huge Śiva liṅga, now enshrined in the Bhāskareśvara temple at Bhubaneswar seems to be the remnant of an Asokan pillar destroyed by the Śaivas into a phallic emblem. The lion figure which crowned the pillar was also partly damaged and then buried in the close

proximity of the said temple. It bears an inscription in the charters of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.⁴ pointing out that the conversion of the Aśokan pillar into a Śiva liṅga took place in that period. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention that the Śiva temple of Śatrughneśvara in Bhubaneswar is assigned to the sixth century A.D.⁵

The Śaiva ascetics used to live in caves to practise penance. Sitabinji in the Keonjhar district contains a number of natural rock shelters in the hills which attracted the Śaiva ascetics. This fact is proved by the existence of a stone Mukhaliṅga with four faces of Śiva as well as the record of the names of Śiva as Śaśidhara and Śaśalā-ñchhanadhara in the stone inscriptions at Sitabinji. In the close vicinity of Bhāskareśvara temple there are rock-cut caves which also appear to have been abodes of Śaiva ascetics in ancient times. The caves at the aforesaid sites are assigned to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.⁶. In the chaturmukhaliṅga T. N. Ramachandran⁷ notices the flap or the foreskin of the *phallus* below the head of Śiva. In the Bhāskareśvara liṅga K. C. Panigrahi⁸ notices a deeply incised small dent on the top centres, just resembling the central orifice on the inside nut of a male organ. The representation of these details indicates an attempt to give the aforesaid liṅgas a close resemblance of the *membrum virile*. The glorification of sex is a concept of Pāsupata Śaivism. It is quite legitimate to believe that the shrines at Sitabinji and Bhāskareśvara were established by the Pāsupata sect of Śaivism.

The form of Śaivism that established itself at Bhubaneswar in the seventh century A.D. also bore the influence of Pāsupata sect. Two images of Lakulīśa occur on the front facade and the *jagamohana* of the Paśurāmeśvara temple, assigned to this period. Each of these two images holds a club and sits in *yogāsana*. A. Ghosh⁹ and K. C. Panigrahi¹⁰ believe that the temple was originally named after the Pāsupata teacher Parāśara. This temple contains bas-reliefs depicting several incidents in Śiva's life. We find here an eight-armed Arddha-nāriśvara in dancing pose. The upper two female hands hold a mirror and a book, whereas the upper two male hands hold a lute and an *akṣamālā*. This type of image is quite interesting, as in it Śiva and Śakti are merged in one body. We also notice here a four-armed Śiva wearing a snake *kuṇḍala* in sitting pose. The upper left hand holds a long trident whereas both the right hands hold an *akṣamālā* and a lotus. It is an anthropomorphic image of Śiva. There is an interesting scene depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī in the said temple. They are dressed as the bridegroom and the bride and surrounded on all sides by Agni, Brahmā, Sūrya and Viṣṇu. A still more interesting scene in this temple is Rāvaṇa raising the mount

Kailāsa (the abode of Śiva), Pārvati turning her head in panic and Śiva consoling her with his left hand and raising his right hand in *abhaya*.

Śaivism suffered a set-back due to the rise of Buddhism in the eighth century A.D. But there took place a revival of Sivaite activities in the ninth century A.D. The Śiva *linga* at Soro contains a Buddhist *dharani*,¹¹ which proves that Buddhism lost its identity and merged itself completely in Śaivism. The Śaiva temples of Śīśireśvara¹¹ and Someśvara¹² seem to have been constructed during this period at Bhubaneswar and Ranipur-Jharial respectively. We notice on the *jagamohana* of the former the figure of Lakuliśa seated in *Dharmachakrapravarttana mudrā* with a club placed on his right shoulder. This Śaiva temple of Śīśireśvara could not, however, escape the influence of Buddhism. The pedestal of Lakuli is occupied by a *tri-ratna* superimposed by a lotus and flanked by deer. A wheel in place of the lotus would make it a complete Sarnath device, which is clearly a Buddhist symbol. K. C. Panigrahi has very aptly remarked, "A sculptor trained in the Buddhist tradition and accustomed to carve a Sarnath device on the pedestals of the Buddhist images has, by force of practice, allowed himself to carve the same device here and then has tried to camouflage it by putting a lotus in place of a wheel."¹³ We may state here that there is no canonical prescription about carving of such a device on the pedestal of a Sivaite image. Buddhist figures of Amoghasiddhi, Avalokiteśvara and Jambhāla, are noticed very close to the aforesaid figure of Lakuli.

The growing popularity of Śaivism in the ninth century A.D. is evident from the presence of Śaiva images in the Tantric temple of Vaitāla. Apart from the composite image of Śiva and pārvati (Arddhanārīśvara), we notice Śiva and Pārvati (Umāmaheśvara) seated side by side on a lotus seat. Śiva is four-armed, holding a lyre, a trident and a *japamālā*, whereas Pārvati is two-armed placing her right hand on the shoulder of her consort. Śaivism could not, however, escape the impact of Tantrism as we find an image of Śiva in a terrific form (Bhairava) in this temple. He wears a garland of skulls and possesses sunken eyes, open mouth, protruding tongue and hollowed belly. He sits in a fighting posture, rests his body on the left knee and holds a *kharpara* and a dagger in both of his hands.

We may state here that images of Arddhanārīśvara, Umāmaheśvara and Bhairava are seen in large numbers either as presiding deities or as side deities in the temples of Prācī valley. The finest specimens of such images exist in the Vileśvara temple at Paidapatana, Amareśvara temple at Amareśvara, Dakṣiṇeśvara temple at Dakṣiṇeśvara, Aṅgeśvara temple at Pitapur, Vandeśvara temple at Vandeśvara,

Gokarṇeśvara temple at Kantapara, Grāmeśvara temple at Lataharana, Someśvara temple near Kakatpur, etc. They seem to have been constructed in and around ninth-tenth century A.D.

There is thus almost a spate of Sivaite activities in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. Among the numerous Sivaite temples that were built in this period, the Mukteśvara, the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja were the most remarkable. The Mukteśvara, the earliest of the three¹⁴ is one of the most beautiful temples of India, and has been described by M. M. Ganguly as "a dream realized in sandstone."¹⁵ Two images of Lakulī are found in this temple—one in *dharmachakra-pravarttana mudrā* and the other in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. This proves the prevalence of Pāśupata sect in the tenth century A.D. This also shows the influence of Buddhism on Śaiva images in the said century. Another noteworthy image noticed in the said temple is the Gajasānī-hāra *mūrti* of Śiva. The Brahmeśvara temple, assigned to the eleventh century A.D., also contains a number of Sivaite images, e.g., Ekapāda Śiva, Arddhanārīśvara, Natarāja, Andhakavadha *mūrti* etc. Ekapāda Śiva holds a trident, *dambaru* and *akṣamālā* in his hands and wears a garland of skulls around his neck. Of the two four-handed Natarājas, one holds a lyre and the other a snake. Andhakavadha *mūrti* stands in the pose of an archer wearing a garland of skulls, holding a *kharpara* and lifting the demon with the long trident.

The Liṅgarāja temple can be considered as the most notable Śaiva shrine of Orissa. Śiva in his phallic form is enshrined in this temple. The *liṅga* is a natural one and is known as *svayambhūliṅga*. This Śaiva shrine probably came under the impact of Vaiṣṇavism during the twelfth and thirteenth century A.D. As a result, Liṅgarāja became a combination of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva). In other words, he is Harihara and not Hara alone. The local priests point out a natural line of the *liṅga* as the line demarcating the Viṣṇu and Śiva portions of the deity. The *Vāhanastambha* in front of the temple contains at its top not only the image of Nandi, but also that of Garuḍa, pointing out a synthesis of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. Liṅgarāja is worshipped at present by both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava methods.

The rising tide of Vaiṣṇavism almost swept the whole of Orissa during the twelfth century A.D. As a result, there was a decline of Sivaite activities in this period. Two important Śaiva shrines constructed in this period were the Kedāreśvara and the Megheśvara at Bhubaneswar. The former was built in the early part while the latter in the later part of the said century.¹⁶ These two temples are devoid of Śaiva images, which are illustrations of various Śaiva mythologies and which are abundantly noticed in early temples.

The Śaiva activities of the Orissan monarchs were, however, not confined to the construction of beautiful temples and images. They patronised Śaivism in several ways. In the fifth century A.D. Anantavarman, a king of the Māthara dynasty, ruling over Kalinga was a devotee of Śiva as he styles himself as *Paramamāheśvara*.¹⁷ This is quite interesting in view of the fact that a number of rulers of this dynasty were devotees of Viṣṇu. In the sixth century A.D. Śambhu-yaśa of the Mudgala dynasty ruling over Northern Tosali was a devotee of Śiva which is evident from his epithet *Paramamāheśvara*.¹⁸ His feudatory Śivarāja, as the name itself indicates, also appears to be a Śaiva. During this period the early Gaṅgas, who established their kingdom on the eastern coast, were staunch Sivaites. All their copperplate grants open with an invocation to Gokaṛṇeśvara established on the top of the Mahendra mountain in the Ganjam district. Hastivarman,¹⁹ Indravarman,²⁰ Devendravarman,²¹ Anantavarman,²² Nandavarman,²³ Satyavarman,²⁴ Jayavarman²⁵ and Sāmantavarman²⁶ were all devout worshippers of Śiva (*Paramamāheśvara*).

Śaivism, however, attained a position of honour in Orissa in the seventh century A. D. During this period Śaśāṅka, who appeared in Eastern India as a great patron of Śaivism, extended his sway over Orissa. Literary traditions²⁷ inform us that Śaśāṅka constructed a massive temple at Bhubaneswar, the presiding deity of which was Tribhuvaneśvara.

Śaivism practically became the royal religion in the Śailodbhava dominion of Koṅgoda in the seventh century A.D. We may state here that Koṅgoda came under the pale of Śaśāṅka's suzerainty during the rule of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavarāja. Mādhavarāja,²⁸ Madhyamarāja²⁹ and Dharmarāja³⁰ were devout worshippers of Śiva, as is obvious from their assumption of the title *Paramamāheśvara*. Śiva is invoked as the highest god in the opening lines of many of the inscriptions of this dynasty. The Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja describe Śiva as one "who is the blessed lord of the three worlds, who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction, whose arms are placed on the hump of the great bull (Nandi) and on the pillow of the couch, whose matted hair is illuminated in one place by the crescent of the moon."³¹ In his Khurda plate he is stated as "a devout worshipper of Lord Maheśvara's feet."³² The Banapur plates of Madhyamarāja refer to Śiva as "greater than the sky, superior to the lord of immortal divine beings (Indra), establisher of Dharma in the *yajna* of Dakṣa, winner of Rākṣasa, deeper than the fathomless ocean, brighter and more luminous than the Sun, more pleasant in looking than the moon, and the ruler of all the three worlds."³³ The Śailodbhavas, like the Eastern Gaṅgas, seem to have paid reverence to Lord

Gokaṇeśvara on the Mahendra mountain as is evident from the Cuttack Museum charter of Mādhavavarman.³⁴

There was a retardation in the progress of Śaivism in Orissa during the rule of the early Bhauma-Karas (eighth century A.D) who were staunch Buddhists. In spite of the lack of royal patronage Sivaite activities did not completely disappear from Orissa, as this faith obtained support from some members of the Bhauma-Kara family. The Hamseśvara temple inscription³⁵ mentions that Mādhavadevi, wife of Śubhākara I constructed a Śaiva temple and enshrined Mādhaveśvara in it after her name. It is interesting to note that Sivaite emblems such as the couchant bull, conch shell, the Sun and the moon, appear on the seals of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, even though the early monarchs of this dynasty were great patrons of Buddhism. The fascination of Bhauma-Kara kings for the name Śivakara (which is borne by as many as three kings) also points out that they held this faith in high esteem in spite of their strong Buddhist leanings. In course of time, Buddhism, under the influence of Tantrism, came very close to Śaivism. As a result, there took place a revival in the Sivaite activities in Orissa during the rule of the later Bhauma-Karas, who patronised Śaivism. The visit of Śaṅkarāchārya to Orissa in the ninth century A.D.³⁵⁶ might have stimulated the growth of Śaivism in this region.

The Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara III was a great champion of the Śaiva faith. His Hindol plate³⁷ registers the gift of a village to god Vaidyanātha Bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva) enshrined at the temple of Pulindeśvara. The gift was intended for the maintenance of the temple, the worship of the deity as well as for meeting the expenses of the Sivaite ascetics who resided in the temple. The *Virajā Māhātmya*³⁸ makes references to some Śaiva temples, known as Kusumeśvara, Laliteśvara and Daṇḍiśvara at Virajā (Jajapur). There exists no such temple at Jajapur now-a-days. However, these names indicate that the temples were constructed by Kusumahāra, Lalitahāra and Daṇḍi Mahādevi respectively. Śubhākara IV³⁹ and Śivakara⁴⁰ who bore the surnames Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra respectively, were great Śaivas, inasmuch as they also bore the epithet *Paramamāheśvara* in their records. Daṇḍi Mahādevi⁴¹ was also a devout Śaiva since she possessed the same title in her own grants. Her Kumurang plate registers the gift of a village to some Brāhmaṇas.⁴² The names of their gotras Sarvadeva, Iśvara, Vaṅgeśvara, etc. indicate that they adhered to Śaiva faith. Pṛthvi Mahādevi, in her Baud plate⁴³ donated a village for perpetual offering of ablution, sandal paste, etc. to the deity Umāmaheśvara installed in the Nanneśvara temple. Vakulamahādevi was also a devout worshipper of Śiva as she used the title *Paramamāheśvara* in her own charter.⁴⁴

Many of the feudatories of the Bhauma kings were ardent advocates of Śaivism. The Śulkis had goddess Stambheśvari as their tutelary deity. At the same time the Śulki inscriptions begin with an invocation to Śiva.⁴⁵ Raṇastambha,⁴⁶ Jayastambha⁴⁷ and Kulastambha⁴⁸ of this dynasty were great devotees of Śiva and bear the epithet *Paramamāheśvara*. It is interesting to point out that the manifestation of the Universe is effected through the power (Śakti) of Śiva, and that power is not different from the possessor thereof. In other words, Śakti is Śiva's creative energy and is regarded as his feminine aspect.

Several kings of the Nanda and Tuṅga dynasties were also great followers of Śaivism. Devānanda⁴⁹ Vinitatuṅga⁵⁰ and Gayāḍatuṅga⁵¹ were devout worshippers of Maheśvara, as is revealed by their own records.

Śaivism was also the predominant faith in the Bhaṇja kingdom even though the Bhaṇja kings were devout Vaiṣṇavas. The twin temples of Nilamādhava (Viṣṇu) and Siddheśvara (Śiva) at Gandharadi in the Phulbani district stand today as the mute witnesses of the co-existence of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism in the Bhaṇja kingdom. They seem to have preserved an echo of a verse in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* which says, "There is no distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu".⁵² The Khandadeuli inscription of Raṇabhaṇjadeva⁵³ mentions that the donor expiated his sin through the worship of the feet of Śiva. Mahānmādhavabhaṇja made a grant in the name of Bhagavat Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭāraka,⁵⁴ i.e., Śiva. Nettabhaṇja⁵⁵ and Vidyādharaḥabhaṇja⁵⁶ were devout worshippers of Śiva (*Paramamāheśvara*). The Orissa plate of Vidyādharaḥabhaṇja opens with a verse glorifying the (third) eye of Hara. Śatrubhaṇja of Jangalpada plate was a devotee of Śiva.⁵⁷

Śaivism attained the zenith of its glory in Orissa during the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. In this period the Somavarṇśis dominated the political scene of Orissa. The Somavarṇśi kings of Orissa were staunch Sivaites, as is evident from their epithet *Paramamāheśvara* in their records,⁵⁸ even though the Somavarṇśi rulers of Kośala were ardent Vaiṣṇavas. According to K. C. Panigrahi,⁵⁹ Yayāti I constructed the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. It stands today as one of the finest representations of Orissan art and architecture. According to the said author,⁶⁰ Yayāti II began the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar and Udyotakeśari completed the same. The latter was a great champion of Śaivism. It was during his reign that his mother Kolāvati constructed the magnificent Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar.⁶¹

Śaivism continued to flourish in Orissa in the early part of the rule of the later Gaṅgas. Vajrahasta granted a piece of land to the

Śiva temple of Koṭeśvara for *bali*, *chāru naivedya*, *dhupa* and *pūjā*.⁶² Kāmārṇava built the huge Madhukeśvara temple⁶³. The name of the place Madhukeśvaralingam or Mukhalingam has been derived from the name of the temple. Aniyaṅkabhīma seems to have built a Śiva temple known as Aniyaṅkabhīmeśvara in Parlakhemidi.⁶⁴ Anantavarma Choḍagaṅgadeva expressed his devotion to Śiva in his Korni copperplate⁶⁵ (S.E. 1003). His Vizagapatnam copperplate⁶⁶ (S.E. 1003) records his grant of a village in honour of the deity Rājarājeśvara. The Rājarājeśvara Śiva temple had probably been constructed by his father Devendravarma Rājarāja. The Korni copperplate⁶⁶ (S.E. 1034) of Anantavarma Choḍagaṅgadeva describes him both as *Paramamāheśvara* and *Paramavaiṣṇava* whereas his Vizagapatnam copperplate⁶⁷ (S.E. 1040) depicts him only as *Paramavaiṣṇava*. Thus there was a change in his religious faith from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. Thereafter, Śaivism lost its pre-eminent position, and Vaiṣṇavism began to dominate the religious life of Orissa. Even though Vaiṣṇavism acquired a paramount position in Orissa in the Ganga period Śaivism did not lose its hold on the people. The Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions of the thirteenth century A.D.⁶⁸ record the grants of perpetual lamp in favour of Śiva by a Gaṅga general named Išvara and a commoner named Kambali.

Thus there was not a single dynasty in ancient Orissa that did not come under the influence of Śaivism at one time or other.

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SAKTI CULT IN ORISSA

THE origin of Śakti cult in India is shrouded in mystery. The archaeologists, historians, indologists, philosophers and scholars of different other disciplines have expounded various theories with regard to the origin and evolution of the all pervasive female principle, but none has been able as yet to explain it satisfactorily. Whatever might be the time of origin of this mysterious cult it is an admitted fact that the worship of Śakti (power) has been an important religious complex of the Indian civilization since time immemorial.

Śakti as we understand means power which is expressed through different phenomena. *Devi Sūkta* in the *Saptasatī* records Intelligence (Buddhi), Satisfaction, Pity, etc., as various forms of Śakti. The goddess of Śakti in her many-faceted aspects represents various phenomena; as for instance, *Sarasvatī* represents learning and wisdom, *Laxmī* represents wealth, *Durgā* the benevolent aspect, *Kālī* the malevolent aspect and so on.¹ The *Purāṇas* and *Upa-Purāṇas* hold the Śakti in the highest esteem even over and above the cult of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara*—the creator, preserver and the destroyer of the universe. On the basis of archaeological evidences the concept of Śakti can be traced to the Indus Valley Civilization. In course of its evolution during the pre-Vedic, Vedic, Epic and historical periods Śakti occupied a prominent position in the religious firmament. During the *Purāṇic* period Śakti was considered to be the World Mother, the supreme reality.² The *Mohenjo Daro* and *Harappa* discoveries have made it clear that the origin of the Mother Goddess (Śakti) can be traced to the pre-Vedic period. A large number of terra-cotta female figurines recovered from these two sites and from other places of proto-historic period, are taken to stand for Mother Goddess. The ring stones, the female figurines along with the circular discs and the nude figurines of the historic period collectively establish the long continued existence of the worship of the female principle in aniconic and iconic forms.³ A seal from *Harappa* showing on the obverse a nude female figure, head downwards and

legs stretched out upwards, with a plant issuing out of her womb, may be regarded as the proto-type of the mother goddess Śākambhari of the Purāṇic period.⁴ The ring stones may be taken to be the *cakra* and *yantra* of the Śāktas in historic period.⁵ The pre-Vedic archaeological data throw a flood of light on the early phase of evolution of the Mother cult.

We have some indirect evidence of Śakti cult in the early Vedic literature. Since the religion of the Rigveda was patriarchal the people of the time resorted to the worship of the heroes and ancestors. The male gods such as Sky, *Vāyu*, *Sūrya*, *Soma*, *Rudra*, *Varuṇa*, *Agni* etc. held the pre-eminent position in the Vedic pantheon, whereas the female deities occupied a very subordinate position and had no share in the *Soma* offerings. Macdonell remarks, "Goddesses occupy a very subordinate position in Vedic belief and worship. They play hardly any part as rulers of the world."⁶ The important goddesses of this period were *Aditi*, *Ushā*, *Sarasvatī*, *Prthvī*, *Vāk*, *Rātri*, *Diti*, *Revati*, *Indrāṇī*, *Varuṇāṇī*, *Rudrāṇī*, *Āgneyī*⁷ and so on. As a result of the influence of the non-Vedic people the goddesses like *Ilā*, *Mahī*, *Purandhī*, *Rākā*, *Kuhū*, *Sinivālī*, *Lakshmī*, *Alaksmī*, *Oṣadhi*, *Apyā*, *Yoṣā*, *Gāndharvī*, etc.⁸ came into the fold of the Vedic pantheon. As has been stated earlier the Rigvedic society was patriarchal and the patrilinear inheritance was basically a rule. This cultural complex stood in sharp opposition to the female dominated culture of the pre-Vedic and non-Vedic peoples. Out of the constant conflict there emerged a synthesis, the pre-Vedic elements thus gradually making their way into the Vedic society.

In the later Vedic period the seers made sincere attempt to find out the consorts of the gods. *Ambikā*, *Kālī*, *Durgā*, *Umā*, etc., the non-Vedic deities adopted by the Vedic Aryans became singly or collectively the names of the central figure of the Śākta cult. In this connection it may be pointed out that the three deities viz., *Sarasvatī*, *Rātri* and *Srī* provide us a vivid picture of the three manifestations of Śakti as *Mahā Sarasvatī*, *Mahā Kālī* and *Mahā Laxmī*. In course of time some of the female deities were identified as the female counterpart of Śiva, the pre-Aryan god. *Ambikā* who was conceived as sister of Śiva (*Rudra*) became his spouse. Slowly and slowly Śiva gained prominence and his consort *Umā* became a powerful goddess. Sayana's commentary regards *Ambikā*, the consort of *Rudra* as *Pārvatī*, the mother of the whole universe. The names of *Durgā*, *Vairocanā*, *Katyāyanī* and *Kanyā Kumārī* appear in the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka*. In the *Muṇḍaka Upanishad* the seven tongues of *Agni* are said to be *Kālī*, *Karālī*, *Manojavā*, *Sulohitā*, *Sudhūmravarṇā*, *Sphulīṅgī* and *Viśvaruchi* who may be regarded

as the precursors of *Sapta mātṛkā* of the later period. *Umā* is described as the daughter of *Himavat* (Himalayan mountain) in the *Kena Upanishad*⁹. The legend of her appearance before the gods and imparting divine knowledge to them has been beautifully described. Her rise to the position of a teacher of the gods indicates that she must have been known long before this period.¹⁰ In later works this mountain goddess has been identified with *Durgā* or *Pārvatī*. The names of these goddesses emphasise their relation with inaccessible mountain regions inhabited by non-Vedic tribes. *Kālī*, *Karālī*, *Bhadrakālī*, etc., were originally fearful goddesses of the dark-skinned people.¹¹ Thus it is clear that during the later Vedic period there was a constant attempt of assimilating some pre-Aryan and non-Aryan goddesses with the Vedic pantheon¹². In the process of assimilation some of the Rigvedic goddesses like *Ushā*, and *Aditi* lost their importance while some of the deities held very prominent position in the pantheon. As for example *Sarasvatī*, a mere river goddess of the Rigvedic period was identified in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature with *Vāk* or speech and was regarded as the goddess of learning and wisdom. The name *Durgā* which occurs with others in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*¹³ is the same *Durgā* who rose to eminence in later period.

A number of *Śākta Upanishads*, composed in glorification of the goddess and the *Śākta* cult, regarded *Śakti* as Brahman, the idealistic monism or absolutism¹⁴. The *Śaiva Upanishad* regarded *Śakti* as the creative power of *Śiva* and the mother of the universe. These *Upanishads* not only mention different embodiments of *Śakti* as *Durgā*, *Mahālakshmi*, *Sarasvatī*, *Vaiṣṇavī*, etc.¹⁵ and identify her as *Viśvarūpiṇī* but also introduce Tantric terminology like *Bindu*, *Nāda*, *Śakti*, *Mantra*, *Yantra* and a number of plexuses such as *Tālu cakra*, *Bhrū cakra*, etc. *Śakti* according to the *Upanishads* is the ramification of the whole world and there is nothing in the universe devoid of *Śakti*. This indicates the significant status of *Śakti* during this period. The omnipotent, incomprehensible and unknowable characters of the *Śakti* (*Durgā*) are described in a verse of *Devī Upanishad*.¹⁶

Tāmangivarṇā tapasā jvalantī vairochanīm karmaphaleṣu
juṣṭām.

Durgām Devīm śaraṇamaham prapadye sutarām naśyati tamah.

Sixth century B.C. marked the advent of two important religious thoughts—Buddhism and Jainism. The worship of female principle which was started in the previous epoch did not perish; rather it became very popular, and principal goddesses of the Vedas *Ambikā*, *Durgā*, *Kātyāyanī*, *Bhadrakālī*, etc., crept in some form or other into the Buddhist and Jaina religions. The *Vajrayāna*

school enumerated large number of female deities such as Prajñā pāramitā, Tārā, and many other manifestations of female principle. Here it may not be unwise to mention that the concept of absolute political power had a close bearing on the development of monotheism in the field of religion. During this time there appeared Vaisnavism (3rd century B.C) as a distinct creed supporting absolute monarchy. Similar information we have heard in the Mahābhārata. The Mahābhārata upholds the idea of political unification of India under an absolute monarch known as *chakravartin* who was guided by Viṣṇu, the master of the universe. Despite the rise of Buddhism, Jainism and Vaisnavism as the higher religions of India, the cosmic reality of female principle became the driving force. Saivism which rose to eminence in the earlier phases had the greatest potentiality of absorbing the Śākta elements and in course of time Saivism and Śaktism became inseparable.

In the literature we have explicit indication about the Śakti cult. In Rāmāyaṇa Śakti or the Mother Goddess is not an independent cult though she holds a very high position. She is known as *Devī* revered by all.¹⁷ In this literature she is always considered to be the consort of Śiva and bears the epithet of *Umā*, *Girijā*, *Rudrāṇi*, etc. The two *Durgā* stotras in the Mahābhārata throw a flood of light on the position of Śakti cult. These two hymns give an indication of the fusion of Vaisnava and Śaiva goddesses. In this epic the Śakti is known as *Durgā* and she rescues people from the difficulties.¹⁸ During this period many new names and new characters of Śakti were introduced.

The last great authorities of religions are the Purāṇas which contain all elements of Hinduism namely rites, ceremonies, vows, modes of worship, heaven, hell, virtues etc. All trends of thought evolved through the ages fused together in the Purāṇas and were expressed in simple and lucid language blended with legendary traditions. Their very forms and styles attracted the people of all walks of life. The knowledge of fanciful mythology, cosmology, theogony and other branches of learning was imparted to all classes of people. Through these popular purāṇas, Śaktism in its multifarious dimensions rose to the highest peak of glory. The royal patronage further accelerated and accentuated the cause of this religion. As a consequence the mythical conception of various manifestations of goddesses took a concrete shape in the form of sculptures with all iconographic features. The *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa*, one of the oldest purāṇas and scriptures of the highest sanctity and efficacy in which the supreme principle is invoked and glorified under the name of *Devī*, narrates Her as the most powerful goddess ever conceived of.

Such a supreme deity who is omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe is born out of the concentrated and accumulated energy of all the gods, who entrusted with her the task of killing the fierce demon Mahisāsura and his powerful associates and they all supplied her their respective weapons to kill Mahisāsura and several other demons such as Śumbha and Niśumbha, Raktavīrya, etc. Here in this text Devī as the war goddess dominates the whole episode and we find her for the first time as a fierce goddess equipped with the weapons of the gods and revelling in her terror-striking war cries. This tradition gives Her the highest status. In the last section of Devī Māhātmya Devī recites Her various future manifestations for the purpose of destroying the demons and for sustaining the world. In the last verse She assures that when the gods will be put to troubles by the demons She will incarnate Herself to destroy the enemies.¹⁹

In this connection it may not be out of place to fix the chronology of the Purāṇas viewed by different scholars. Bhandarkar and Smith ascribe the Gupta period to the final phase of the Purāṇa literature.²⁰ In the opinion of R. C. Majumdar the period from 300 A.D. to 700 A.D. witnessed the full development of the Purāṇas.²¹ Farquhar opines that the present form of the Purāṇas was under development during the Gupta period.²² The views of these scholars prompt us to conclude that the Purāṇas which form the source materials of religion, history and sociology of India took a real shape during the Gupta period and continued to develop till about 1000 A.D.

Religion, art, architecture, science, literature on the whole, the Indian civilization embarked upon a new phase of development during the Gupta rule. Gupta age was evidently the golden age in the history of India. It was during this period that the social and economic development changed the whole religious outlook. The ceremonial worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti and the Buddhist and Jain deities with their female counterparts in the beautiful temples of high magnitude was a new feature in the realm of religion. There was an attempt in the process of transformation and assimilation of the different higher religions.²³ The female principle with the mass strength behind triumphed in the field of religion. Śaktism during this period assumed an independent status. The theoretical interpretation of the Śakti cult inculcated in Upanishads, purāṇas and upapurāṇas composed in the earlier period, and in this glorious epoch it found expression in the glorification of the goddesses. The great gods like Śiva and Viṣṇu became subordinate to the goddesses. Another peculiar characteristic in the field of religion was the intimate relation between Śiva and Śakti. The Puranic story of

Daksha sacrifice (Yajña)—for example avers the fact. According to Vāyu Purāṇa composed in the Gupta Age, Sati, the daughter of Daksha was married to Śiva. Daksha performed a sacrifice and invited all the gods except Śiva. In order to teach a lesson to her father, Sati on her own accord came to attend the ceremony but was shocked at the cool reception of her father and ultimately destroyed her body in the sacrificial fire. The death of Sati enraged Śiva who destroyed the sacrifice and with the dead body of Sati He moved about the country aimlessly. The wrath of Śiva in His madness was a danger to the universe. To save the creation from His wrath, Viṣṇu cut the body of Sati into pieces. The places where the parts of the body fell down were sanctified as the Śākta pīṭhas. This interesting episode indicates the close alliance of the female principle with Śiva.

With this at the background let me discuss the Śakti cult that evolved in Orissa which afforded ample scope and opportunities for its development in its various manifestations. Under the benevolent patronage of the royal dynasties the popular cult continued to flourish along with other religions. It is really difficult to say when this cult first appeared in ancient Orissa. On the basis of available archaeological data we can presume that this powerful religion made its appearance in Orissa two or three centuries before Christ. Yaksiṇī and Nāgiṇī, the malevolent deities of the tribals are found in their sculptural representations in the second century B.C. Of the earliest Yaksiṇī and Nāgiṇī sculptures influencing the iconographic conceptions of the female principle, mention may be made of the crude Nāgiṇī figures with pot belly, bulging hips and five-hooded snake over the head, worshipped in a modern temple of the village Kapilaprasad near Bhubaneswar and several Yaksiṇī figures with similar iconographic characters collected from the vicinity of Bhubaneswar and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, at Bhubaneswar. These cults exerted a very important position in Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical legends and religions in the later period.

The period, in the beginning of the Christian era is considered to be a turning point of religious history in this part of the country. A large number of tribal deities were incorporated in Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism. As for example, Stambhesvari, basically a tribal deity represented in the form of a pillar was found worshipped in certain parts of Orissa. The Kalahandi copperplate of Tusṭikar indicates that She was worshipped as the family deity of the Sulkis. At present such goddess is worshipped at Sonapur in the district of Bolangir and at Aska in the district of Ganjam. The representation of seven Tirthankars and the seven female figures guarded by Ganesh in the Sātaghara cave at Khandagiri and two rows of images—the

upper showing 24 Tirthankars and the lower 24 Śāsana Devis— indicates that the female principle was fully adopted in Jainism in the beginning of the Christian era.

Śakti cult particularly in the form of Mahisamardini made its appearance in Orissa since very early times. The earliest representation of the deity is offered by the two-armed Virajā at Jajpur in the district of Cūttack. The sacred centre of Jajpur on the river Vaitarani has been a place of pilgrimage since the time of Mahābhārata and Purāṇa.²⁵ Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions it as Nābhigayā and Kubjikā Tantra²⁶ refers to it as one of the forty-two Siddha pīṭhas. Jajpur or Virajā kshetra is named after Virajā, the presiding goddess of the place. On examination it is learnt that Virajā in the form of Durgā is engaged in killing the buffalo demon. This two-armed goddess mounting on a lion holds in her right hand a spear which pierces the body of the buffalo and in her left hand she pulls the tail of the animal. Her right foot presses the head of the buffalo. R. P. Chanda²⁷ places this type of Mahisamardini to the pre-Gupta period, but K. C. Panigrahi²⁸ dates it to the Gupta period. He, on examination of a ruined temple at Kalaspur situated at a distance of about one mile from the present temple of Virajā indicates that she was originally worshipped there. He ascribes this flat-roofed structure to the Gupta period. Whatever might be the age of the present image of Virajā this two-armed variety represents the earliest phase of the cult in Orissa.

In Orissa Śakti is worshipped in the forms of Mahisamardini Durgā, Pārvatī, Chāṇḍī, Sapta mātṛkās, Chāmuṇḍā, Mangalā, Vārāhī, Kālī, Vimalā, Charchikā, Bhagavatī, etc. In addition, the female principle is invoked under various local names which cannot be enumerated in this short paper. Śakti cult is so popular in Orissa that every village even individual household worships her either as presiding deity or as the protectress of the particular house or the village whatsoever may be. The wide distribution of Śakti cult in some form or other indicates its pre-eminence in Orissa. Of all the emanations of Śakti, Mahiṣamardini Durgā is very common and is found in large numbers in different parts of Orissa. The two-handed Mahiṣamardini Durgā which represents the earliest phase of chronological evolution is found at Someśvara near Kakatpur of the Prachi Valley. She is contemporary to Virajā of Jajpur and assumes the similar iconographic features. Four-armed Mahisamardini began to be worshipped in the Prachi Valley. A beautiful image of this variety in the village Motia of the same valley, deserves mention. Her upper hands hold *Śaṅkha* and *Chakra* while the lower hands pierce the trident to the breast of the demon. Similar such image is seen in the temple of Mādhava at Niali and in the western wall of the temple

Charchika at Banki. Mahisamardini with six hands is not very common in Orissa. Only one image of this variety seen at Astarang is peculiar in the sense it presses the mouth of the demon with one of her right hands while the other five holding sword, arrow, bow, shield and trident. Another image of this group known as Dvāravāsini is worshipped on the eastern edge of Vindu sarovara at Bhubaneswar.

Here it may be mentioned that the worship of Aṣṭa-bhujā (eight-handed) Mahisamardini became very popular during the reign of Bhaumakars (c.736—c.948 A.D.) who patronized Tantrik Buddhism, Tantrik Śāktism and caused erection of many Śākta and Śaiva temples in the Prachi valley, at Bhubaneswar, at Rānipur Jharial in the district of Bolangir and the famous Buddhist monasteries at Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri in the district of Cuttack. The temples of Vaital for Chāmūṇḍā, Sisiresvara, and Mohini at Bhubaneswar, Yogini temples at Hirapur and Ranipur Jharial, Vārāhi temple at Chaurasi, temples at Talmul in Angul, Banesvara Nasi near Narsinghpur, Baudh in Puri district, Kupari and Ayodhya in Balasore district deserve mention. This has been attested by the accounts of Hieun Tsang which indicate that there were large number of Deva temples in Orissa in the 7th century A.D.²⁹ Some of these centres grew up as centres of Śāktism and acclaimed wide popularity. Certain elements of other cults were introduced in Śaivism. It was during this period that Tantrism crept into the fold of Śaivism. Tantrik Buddhism known as Vajrayāna was the dominant religion and several images of this religion appeared in the Hindu temples. "It is during this period that Śāktism first made its appearance in Bhubaneswar. The Vaital temple, the first Śākta shrine, shows in its sculptures a strange amalgamation of Saktism, Saivism and Mahāyāna Buddhism. While the presiding deity of the temple is a Chāmūṇḍā, it bears such Saiva images as Hara Pārvaṭi, Ardhanārīśvara Harihara, Lakulisa, Virabhadra, Bhairava and Gajāntakārimūrti and such Tantrik Mahāyāna images as Amoghasiddhi, the female deity holding a lily....."³⁰ Four Śākta shrines also sprang up on four sides of the Vindusarovara tank. While the temples of Mohini and Uttareśvara situated in the south and north of the tank enshrine chāmūṇḍās, the shrines on its east and west banks contain the images of Mahisamardini.

During this period the concept of female principle dominated the Mahāyāna Buddhism. Tārā the primordial deity of Buddhist pantheon absorbed within herself a number of divinities representing different aspects of female principle. From the 7th century onwards the influence of Tārā in her various manifestations began to be felt in the religious system of Orissa. Khādiravaṇi Tārā at Banpur, Prajñāpāramitā of Vanesvaranasi Tārā and Hārīti of

Ratnagiri, Tārā images of Khiching museum, various such images in the Orissa State Museum, the exquisitely carved bronze images of varieties of Tārā in Lalitāsana, four-handed Cuṇḍā, Vajra Tārā, Ugra Tārā, Hārīti now preserved in the Orissa State Museum are the few examples which indicate the influence of Tāntrik Śāktism in Mahāyāna.

Daśabhujā Mahisamardini was even more common and more popular in Orissa. Availability of this variety of image in different parts of Orissa either as presiding deities or as side deities indicates its wide distribution. She in this form is depicted as the war-goddess with full energy produced from the flames of the gods and bearing the *āyudhas* of the gods such as Śiva's trident, Viṣṇu's disc, Varuṇa's conch, Agni's dart, Yama's iron rod, Vāyu's bow, Sūrya's arrows, Indra's thunderbolt, Kuvera's mace, Brahmā's rosary and pot, Viśvakarmā's sword, Himavān's lion and various weapons of other gods. Of the numerous Daśabhujā Mahisamardini mention may be made of the beautiful images found at Dalavada, Pitapura, Lataharana, Nivarana, Niali, Jogeswar and Vakatur of Prachi valley, Bhaṭṭārikā near Baramba, Kanaka Durga near Remuna, at Khiching, Padhuan near Basudevapur, at Bhubaneswar and at many other places. All the images of this variety are seen fighting vigorously with the demon who emerges out of the decapitated trunk of the buffalo. Standing in *pratyāliḍha* pose she is planting her right leg on the back of the mount lion and pressing the buffalo with her left leg. She has in her hands the trident, khetaka, tanka, sara, khadga (in right hands) and dhanus, paraśu, aṅkuśa, nāga-pāśa and suci-mudrā.

Sapta Mātṛkās (seven mothers) representing the śaktis of important deities are found in different parts of Orissa. They are Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī and Chāmūṇḍā. The antiquity of the Mātṛkās is shrouded in mystery. A group of eight Mātṛkās has been mentioned in *Devī-Bhāgavata* and *Līṅga purāṇa*.³¹ In the subsequent literature the names of as many as 16 Mātṛkās have been given beginning with Gaurī. But on the basis of iconographic data the above-mentioned seven Mātṛkās have been accepted as the 7 mother goddesses or Divine Mothers. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* indicates that the Mātṛkās helped Ambikā to kill the powerful demon Raktavīja who was endowed with the quality of multiplying into demons of his stature and strength from the drops of his blood oozing from the wounds. It was with the assistance of these Mātṛkās that Devī could cause death to the demon. The *Agni Purāṇa*³² and *Matsya Purāṇa*³³ deal in detail the iconographic features of these Mothers. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*³⁴ the śaktis of the individual gods are characterised by the respective forms, ornaments

and mounts of those gods. In fact they are the female counterparts who are armed with the same weapons, wear the same ornaments and ride the same Vāhanas and carry the same banners as the corresponding male gods do.³⁵

The Mātṛkā figures are shown standing or seated with their usual characteristic features. They may be two-armed or four-armed. Sometimes they are found associated with children to indicate the Mother Aspect. The earliest group of Sapta Mātṛkā belonging to 7th century A.D. is depicted along with Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra in the northern wall of Jagamohana of Parasurameswar temple (Bhubaneswar). They are Chāmuṇḍā, Vārāhi, Indrāṇī, Vaisṇavī, Kaumārī Māheśvarī, Brahmāṇī flanked by Virabhadra and Gaṇeśa. These Mātṛkā figures are four-handed. Chāmuṇḍā has a lily bud and a vija-pūraka in her right hands and a long trident and a vase in the left hands. Her Vāhana owl is seen on the pedestal. Chāmuṇḍā is terrific in form with the drooping breasts, sunken belly and bulging eyes. Vārāhi has a lotus and a fish in her right hands and a kuṭhāra and a vase in the left. Vaisṇavī holds a śaṅkha and chakra and a vase in her hands.

The next in order of chronology comes a group of Sapta-mātṛkās in the Vaital temple at Bhubaneswar. Here in this group, Chāmuṇḍā acts as the presiding deity. She is depicted in fierce form with sunken belly, emaciated body and bulging eyes garlanded with skulls and seated on corpse, flanked by jackals. We notice here for the first time that Chāmuṇḍā is enshrined as the presiding deity. She is locally known as the *Vetali* derivative form of the word *vetāl*. Here it is interesting to note that Vaital is derived from the word *Vetāla* or spirit with the help of which the Kāpālikas and Tāntrikas attained their Sidhi. Hence the shrine of Vaital popularly known as Kapālinī or Vetāli must have some relation with the Kāpālika and tāntrik practices. However, it cannot be denied that this was evidently a great centre of tantrism and śaktism. The Sapta Mātṛkās here are found in Yogāsan pose on full-blown lotus with their attributes. The bear-headed vārāhi holds a fish and Kuṭhār in her hands. One significant feature of Chāmuṇḍā is her association with Corpse eaten by a jackal and it has a hood of a snake over the head. In the ceiling of Jagamohana of Mukteswar temple we find a group of Mātṛkās with Virabhadra on an eight-petalled lotus. Here the association of babies with the figures (except Chāmuṇḍā) indicates the next stage of iconographic representation.

The Sapta mātṛkā figures of Belkhandi in the district of Kalahandi represent the next stage of evolution. The lower portions of the images discovered in course of excavation have been identified

as Kaumāri, Māhesvari, Brahmāṇi, Vaisṇavi and Chāmuṇḍā. According to Shri K. N. Mahapatra, who was in charge of excavation of the site, the Chaṇḍi temple at Belkhandi was built by the illustrious Somavamsi kings who are also credited for the construction of Saptamātṛkā temple at Puri and Jajpur.³⁶ The discovery of Saptamātṛkā temple attributed to the Somavamsi kings who ruled over the Kosala region indicates the prevalence of śakti cult in those days in that area.

Jajpur, known as Virajā kshetra after the name of the presiding deity Virajā, is credited with two sets of Saptamātṛkā images. The first group consists of three colossal images of Vārāhī (8' 10") Chāmuṇḍā (8' 10") and Indrāṇi (8' 8") now kept within the compound of the Sub-divisional Officer of Jajpur. According to a local tradition these three images originally stood on a platform with five other Mothers—Brahmāṇi, Māheśvari, Vaisṇavi, Kaumāri, and Nārasimhi of the same colossal size.³⁷ Chandrasekhar Banerjee³⁸ on the basis of tradition indicates that the Mahommedans broke down the five images and made them to balls and shoots for their guns and threw these down the platform. Another set of life size Mātṛkās is now found in a modern temple on Dasaswamedha Ghata of Jajpur. They are associated with babies and represent a piece of Orissan plastic Art. On an average, the images are 6 ft. in height and 3 ft. in breadth. To the north of this shrine there stands the temple of Gaṇeśa with Gaṇeśa as the presiding deity. In size, workmanship and the type of stone used, Gaṇeśa is similar to the mother goddesses. It is obvious that Gaṇeśa must have been in the same group earlier. According to Matsyapurāṇa³⁹ an image of Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa should always be associated with the mātṛkās. Since no inscriptional evidences in regard to the date of these images are available on style and iconographic features, these images may be assigned to the early mediaeval period.

One notable feature of the mātṛkā images of Orissa is that they are never depicted in the shape of killing the demon for whom they were created but are found sitting at ease in their motherly affection on their mount with babies on laps. Thus we find in the images of mātṛkās two antagonistic features, the war goddesses in terrific form with the weapons of war as the caressing mother.⁴⁰

A set of mother goddesses of the same variety is found on the edge of Markandeya tank at Puri. The figures made of chlorite stone resembles the Jajpur mātṛkās. Here except Chāmuṇḍā and Siva deity all other mātṛkās are associated with babies and have four arms each. Upper two hands with usual attributes represent malevolent aspect of the 'Śakti' whereas the lower right hands in Varada

pose and the lower left hand engaged in holding the baby, indicate the benevolent, and benign characters. Here the sculptors have taken utmost care to depict the celestial smile in the facial expression rather than showing them as war goddesses.

Madala Panji⁴¹ in this connection elucidates that a king named Bhimakasari installed these images as seven sisters on the eastern edge of Markendeswar tank. The scholars have identified this Bhimakasari with the illustrious Bhimarath of Soma dynasty. On the basis of iconography of these images and other circumstantial evidences this group of images may be assigned to the glorious rule of Somavamsi⁴² kings.

Another set of saptamātṛkās recovered from the village Salanpur in Jagatsinghpur P.S. are found in sitting pose with babies on their laps. Stylistically they are contemporary to the Jajpur and Puri mātṛkās.⁴³

Four mātṛkā figures namely Vaisṇavi, Vārāhi, Indrāṇi and Chāmuṇḍā in chlorite sist (7½' × 2½') preserved in the Orissa State Museum represent in style and workmanship mātṛkā group of Puri and Jajpur. Except Chāmuṇḍā, other three are in Yogāsan pose with babies in their arms. The figure of Chāmuṇḍā, a fine piece of Orissan plastic art is shown with sunken eyes with the body reduced to a skeleton exhibiting the sinews, nerves in detail having hairs showing upwards like flames tied with a serpent, sunken belly, holding a cup at her breast and decapitated head in her hand seated on a corpse flanked by jackals.

The archaeological remains at Khiching in the district of Mayurbhanj brought to light a set of Mātṛkā images consisting of five (Māheśvari, Vaisṇavi, Brahmāṇi and Chāmuṇḍā) along with a large number of beautiful images of Brahmanical and Tantrik Buddhist pantheons, which now find place in the Khiching museum. These images show speciality in workmanship. The modelling and the facial expression are elegant. The images of Khiching according to critics of art, belong to an independent branch of schools of Art in Orissa.⁴⁴

In the chronology of evolution we have a set of mātṛkā figures in the temple of Khajureswar, near Sergarah in the district of Balasore. The figures are Chāmuṇḍā, Vārāhi, Kaumārī, Māheśvari, Brahmāṇi, Vaisṇavi, Pārvati, Virabhadra and Ganesh. Since the temple on the basis of architecture is assigned to 12th/13th century A.D. the sculptures also belong to this period. The other notable figures of Śakti cult of this site are Harapārvati in chloride stone and a Gajalaxmi.

The sapta mātṛkās discussed above indicate their popularity and wide distribution in Orissa beginning from 7th century A.D. to 13th century A.D. So far I have dealt with the divine mothers in group. Now I deem it proper to throw light on the mātṛkā images worshipped individually either as presiding deity or as side deities.

Chāmuṇḍā in her terrific form is worshipped as Mohini at Bhubaneswar, as Kichakeswari at Khiching temple, as Jāgulāi at Chaurasi, as Charchikā at Banki and as Caṇḍaghaṇṭā at Niali and as side deities in different other places.

Vārāhī, another Mātṛkā also flourished in its individuality. The most significant image of Vārāhī is seen in the temple at Chaurasi. This colossal image (6' 1" × 2' 9") enshrined in the sanctum holds in her right hands a matsya, in her left a Kapal seated on a crouching buffalo. This shrine is assignable to 10th century A.D. The outside wall of the temple contains a few interesting sensual figures which may be associated with the tantra-sakta ritualism. The eight reliefs carved on the outer walls probably illustrate the practice of eight types of art of love described in the text. These eight modes of Love-making are (1) Vaśīkaraṇa, (2) Sammohana, (3) Ākarsaṇa, (4) Yayān-visheka, (5) Puraścharaṇa, (6) Rājha Paṇa, (7) Prastāva, (8) Nivṛti. Prof. Banerjee remarked, "it seems that the cult of Varahi flourished as an adjunct of Tantrik form of Śakti worship in mediaeval India, especially in eastern and central part of India for I know of many reliefs of the Goddess, some in the Museum collections and others *in situ*".

We have reference that there was a separate Vārāhī temple on the northern outskirt of Ekāmṛakṣhetra which was perhaps demolished at the time of construction of New Capital.⁴⁵

Another life-size figure of Indrāṇī is found in the southern facade of Jagannath temple at Puri which holds Vajra in her two hands and is seated on a pedestal flanked by her Vahan elephant. She is devoid of ornamentation and baby.

That the cult of Yogini was widespread and popular in Orissa is evidenced from the two extant Yogini temples located at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar and at Ranipur Jharial in the district of Bolangir. The Yoginis or female anchorites who were originally conceived as emanations of Gauri centred round the esoteric Kaula-Kāpālīka worship. The basic principle behind this cult is that the Kāpālīkas used to live in spiritual intimacy with the Yogini and it is the Yogini who was instrument of the transformation of her associate anchorites into Śiva in and through the insights and pleasures of sex. In this concept Kula is Śakti and Akula is Śiva, the unity of the two is Kula and the

process by which the relationship is established is the Kaula mārṅa. Śiva, the Akula is represented in our Yoginī temples most superbly in His supreme pose and beatitude. It is noteworthy that the Yoginī temples, comprising images of sixty-four manifestations of Śakti, are met with only at four places of India, such as Bheraghat, Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh and Ranipur Jharial and Hirapur in Orissa.

So far we have not come across any epigraph dealing with Yoginī cult of Orissa, but several references are available in other parts of India. The Ankalgi inscription of Jath Taluk in Maharashtra refers to the village, Ankulage as the abode of Mahayogeswari-Ugra Chāmuṇḍā, the presiding deity of the sixty-four Yoga pithas.⁴⁷ Yoginis are evidently the mother-goddesses expressing the brooding motherly tenderness and compassion in one respect and grimness and ferocity in the other. The two Orissa Yoginī temples are in many ways different from each other stylistically and architecturally too.⁴⁸ Hence it may be mentioned that the circular Yoginī shrines are fundamentally different from the Orissan temples and their sculptural representation finds no resemblance in the temples that have been erected through centuries. Whatever might be the fact the Yoginī temples in the circular shape not covered by any roof with the beautiful images on the niches represent afflorescences of Orissan plastic art. At Hirapur we have 63 images out of 64 in chlorite stone. Here we find altogether 80 images out of which 56 are two-armed, 20 are four-armed and 4 are ten-armed.⁴⁹ The ten-armed Mahāmāyā is taken as the presiding deity and the temple is named after her. The other images of interest in this temple are Nava Kātyāyanī depicted on the outer surface of the circular enclosure and four-armed Ajaikapāda Bhairava and ten-armed male figure of Bhairava.

At Ranipur Jharial there are at present 48 images in the niches leaving the rest of the niches vacant. One most important point of difference from Hirapur is the absence of Dvārapālas and nine Kātyāyanīs on the exterior of the enclosure. Besides the deities are devoid of vāhanas and the images are too defaced to be identified. The Chāmuṇḍā in terrific form and bigger than all other images appears to be the presiding deity of the Pitha. Cunningham⁵⁰ on the basis of archaeology and extant literature on Tantric religion assigns the temple of Hirapur to 9th century and that of Ranipur Jharial to a century later.

The Yoginī Pithas were established when the Brahmanical Tantrism gained popularity. Kālikā Purāṇa⁵¹ reveals that the first Brahmanical tantric pitha in India originated and developed in

Odra desa or Orissa. This fact is avered by the existence of a large number of Śākta Tantric temples in Orissa.

Lord Jagannath, the pivot of Orissan culture is regarded as Bhairava and Vimalā (the important Tantric Śākta deity) as Bhairavi. According to Skanda Purāṇa⁵² Subhadrā is taken as both the sister and consort Viṣṇu. In the pattern of daily worship of Jagannath various Śākta Tantric elements like mātṛkā nyāsa, Panchamakāra are in vogue. In the ritualistic worship fish is substituted by green vegetables mixed with Hingu, meat by Adāpācheḍi (ginger) wine by green coconut water offered in bell metal pots, grain by 'kānti' (a preparation of flour and sugar) and Mithuna by the dance of Devadāsīs and the offering of Aparājita flower.⁵³ The predominance of Śakti cult at Shrikshetra is further attested by the worship of Vimalā as the presiding Śākta deity, Shyāmā Kālī at Balisahi near old palace and Sapta Mātṛkās on the edge of Markandesvar tank and several goddesses such as Kuttam Chaṇḍī, Śmaśāna Chaṇḍī and Bāṭa Maṅgalā.

According to the description given in Bāṭa Avakāśa⁵⁴ of the poet Valaram Das Lord Jagannath is attended by sixtyfour Joginis, Kātyāyanīs Saptamātṛkās, Vimalā and Virajā. This book refers to Seventysix mother Goddesses like Śākambharī, Durgeśvari, Kālī, Rāmachandī, Kotheśvari, Bhagavati, Vāsali, Hādimāi, Kotāmāchandī, Brahmāṇī, Sāvitrī, Sārālāchandī, Aparājita Piṅgalā, Sārakamā, Mārakamā, Hingulā, Kālapāṭi, Kālī Jāi, Kālarātri, Kālikā, Pātelī, Kālaśunī, Curcikā, Chāyā, Māyā, Vijayā, Chaṇḍaghaṇṭā, Kālaghaṇṭā, Kālamukti, Truṭi Khāi, Hemāsāntī, Sarpamukhī, Jāgulāi, Hāḍabai, Samalāi, Maṅgalā, Karuṇāi, Baruṇāi, Tārāśunī, Tāreṇī, Jāreṇī, Māreṇī, Sapanā ceṭī, Kanakeśvari etc.

With the development of Śākta Tantric cult in its various manifestations it was not confined to the cult images only but found expressions profusely on the outer facades of the temples of Orissa in the forms of Nāyikā, Apsarā, Nāginīs, Mithuns, Gāndharvīs etc. expressing the exquisite, sensuous beauty and the warmth of romantic fervour with unusual liveliness and charm. The Apsarās, the dancers of heaven, the nāyikās, courtesans of earth as depicted in the classical texts with their youth blossoming forth in every curve of the body and with the nuance of love in every pose, gesture and movement, vent their manifold charms in the temple architecture of Orissa. It is their angelic charm which brings man close to Mahāmāyā or Mahāvidyā, such metaphysical conceptions underlay Śakti worship, and art in various form in mediaeval India, and made the human sexual approach in post-mediaeval sculpture a symbol and observation, filling the facades of the temple with numberless surasundarīs,

Yoginis and Nāginis, as well as nude Apsarās, Nāyikās whose seductiveness and charm are components of the most elevated spiritual experience. The human love affair is metamorphosed. Marriage, love and conjugation are divinised. The Mithuns or amatory couples become the symbol of the purest abstraction of divinity".⁵⁵

The amatory complex, Apsarās, Nāyikās, in their representation far excel the traditional bandhas described in Kāmasūtra of Vatsyayana. The Mithuna in the temples of Puri, Bhubaneswar, and Konark in lustrous form, smoothly balanced postures and gestures and the serene melodious rhythm symbolize the immanence of Śakti. The colossal Apsarās playing cymbals, flutes and drums on terraces at Konark resemble veritable goddesses. On the whole these divine, semi-divine and mithuna in the temple sculptures are no doubt revelation of consummate beauty and power of total transcendence of lover and beloved. This symbolises the mystery of divine bi-unit⁵⁶ of Purusa and Prakṛti, Śiva and Śakti, being and becoming.

This Śakti cult in its various manifestations had a very long and varied history of its own in Orissa which provided suitable field for its evolution and development. The royal patronage, the popular support, consummate skill of master craftsman helped the all-round growth and development of Śakti cult in this state through ages. The most interesting features of this cult is that with its origin in the distant past it still continues as an important independent religion.

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